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ABSTRACT

In this report, the activities of a conference on Asian Americans and Asians in America are summarized and papers presented are reprinted. Topics considered in the papers include education, employment, affirmative action, identity, pluralism, Chinese cultural background, teaching of English, cross-cultural situations, development of comprehensive services, problems of Chinese immigrant children, and normalization of U.S. foreign policy as it affects Asian Americans. The conference agenda and listing of participating panelists is appended. (WI)

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NOV 2 1978

AAAPR

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ASIANS IN AMERICA AND ASIAN AMERICANS

Sponsored by the Asian American Assembly for Policy Research

New York City

CONFERENCE

PANEL PAPERS

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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NATIONAL SECRETARIAT:

AAAPR
Department of Asian Studies
The City College of New York
New York, N.Y. 10031
Tel. 212 - 690-8267, 8

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Winberg Chai
Asian American Assembly

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co-sponsored by the Department of Asian Studies, The City College of New York; Asian American Mental Health Research Center, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle; Bridge: An Asian American Perspective; Chinatown Planning Council, Inc., New York City; Jewish Community Relations Council of New York, Inc.; National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. — Committee for East Asia and the Pacific; Asian Studies Publications Program, University of Maryland Law School.

Funded under a grant from the Henry Luce Foundation, Inc., and the City College Fund.

THE ASIAN AMERICAN ASSEMBLY FOR POLICY RESEARCH, NEW YORK CITY

Background

The Assembly is a research project organized under the Departmentof Asian Studies, The City College of New York. Chairman of the Assembly serves as the principal investigator of the project. The project is under the jurisdiction of the City College of New York.

The foundation of the Assembly was begun in 1972 when the City College received the first $25,000 grant from the Field Foundation of New York to help the Department of Asian Studies in developing a "viable City College-run community service program for Chinatown." One year later, President Robert E. Marshak provided an additional $6000 from the City College Fund to expand the college-run community service program. In 1976, Department of Asian Studies received a second $25,000 grant from the Field Foundation to continue community related projects, including the establishment of the Asian American Assembly for Policy Research. In Spring, 1977, $20,000 in contributions to the Assembly from the City College Fund established the first national conference on Chinese in America on April 30, 1977. In March, 1978, the Assembly received an additional $20,000 for a second national conference on Asians in America from the Henry Luce Foundation, Inc.

Goals

The goals of the Asian American Assembly are threefold: First, the identification and recommendation for solutions to the major problems confronting Asian Americans. Second, research and publications by national panels appointed by the Assembly to generate a permanent body of information that may be useful as resource materials. Finally, the Assembly should provide a forum of scholars, community leaders and business executives on a regular basis — persons who can bring together both theoretical discipline and practical experience in the Asian American community.

National Advisory Council, 1977-1978

At the invitation of the Assembly Chairman, more than 100 distinguished Americans have agreed to serve on the National Advisory Council for two years, 1977-1978. The Advisory Council shall meet once a year to approve topics and agenda for the Assembly and provide advisement in the operation of Assembly matters.

Officers

Assembly Chairman: Professor Winberg Chai, Ph.D.

Chairman of the National Advisory Council: Mr. Henry Luce, III
co-Chairman of the National Advisory Council: Judge William M. Marutani
Vice-chairmen: Prof. Harry H. L. Kitano, Los Angeles
    Prof. Jang H. Koo, Fairbanks, Alaska
    Prof. William T. Liu, Chicago

Conference Commissions: Affirmative Action (Dr. Priscilla Ching-Chung, Hawaii, Judge William M. Marutani); Community Relations (Mrs. Josephine M. Hong; Mr. Malcolm Hoenlein); Education (Prof. Ruth Grossman, Dr. Anna Chennault); Employment (Prof. Betty Lee Sung, Prof. Yuan-li Wu); Foreign Languages (Prof. John H. Koo, Prof. Nancy Duke Lay); Foreign Relations (Prof. James C. Hsiung, Prof. Ying-mao Kau); Immigration (Prof. Hungdah Chiu); Social Services (Allen B. Cohen); Research (Prof. Diana Kao, Prof. T. K. Tong and Prof. Baidya N. Varma).

Conference Coordinators: Mrs. Carolyn Chai & Prof. K. W. Liu

Staff: Mrs. E. Eltz and Mr. Nathan Bergerbest.

AAAPR

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ASIANS IN AMERICA & ASIAN AMERICANS

Sponsored by the Asian American Assembly for Policy Research, N.Y.C.

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN:
Prof. Winberg Chai, Ph.D.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL:

Chairman:
Mr. Henry Luce, III, NYC

Co-Chairman:
Judge William M. Marutani
(Philadelphia)

Vice-Chairpersons:
Prof. Harry Kitano, Los Angeles
Prof. Jang H. Koo, Fairbanks, Alaska
Prof. William T. Liu, Chicago

CONFERENCE COMMISSIONS:

Affirmative Action:
Dr. Priscilla Ching-Chung
Judge William M. Marutani

Community Relations:
Mrs. Josephine M. Hong
Mr. Malcolm Hoenlein

Education:
Prof. Ruth Grossman
Prof. Diana Kao

Employment:
Prof. Betty Lee Sung
Prof. Yuan-li Wu

English As Second Language:
Prof. Jang H. Koo
Prof. Nancy Duke Lay

Foreign Relations:
Prof. James C. Hsiung
Prof. Ying-mao Kau

Immigration:
Prof. Hungdah Chiu
Mr. Malcolm Hoenlein

Social Services:
Mr. Allen B. Cohen
Mr. Augustine Chua

Research:
Prof. T. K. Tong
Prof. Baidya N. Varma

Conference Coordinators:
Mrs. Carolyn Chai
Prof. K. W. Liu

Staff:
Mrs. E. Eltz
Mr. Nathan Bergerbest

Schedule:
1st Conference, NYC
April 30, 1977
2nd Conference, NYC
May 12-13, 1978
3rd Conference, Fairbanks, Alaska
October, 1978

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT:
AAAPR
Department of Asian Studies
The City College of New York
New York, N.Y. 10031
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Proclamation by the Mayor of the City of Los Angeles

2. Resolution by the City of New York Council

3. The Second National Conference Summary
   by Carolyn Chai UDO 18805

4. "Asians in the Mainstream"
   Keynote address by Judge Harry W. Low UDO18806

5. A Pluralistic Perspective on Asian American Identities
   by Rev. Dr. Franklin J. Woo UDO18807

6. A New American Ideal: Unity Through Pluralism
   by Rev. Philip Park UDO18808

7. Chinese Thought and Chinese Language: Effects on Students' Writings
   by Prof. Nancy Duke S. Lay UDO 18809

8. Teaching of English to Asians UDO18811
   by Prof. Daniel P. Hendricksen

9. Defining Cross-Cultural Situations
   by Prof. Robert N. St. Clair UDO18810

10. Developing Comprehensive Services for New York City's Chinese American Community UDO 18812
    by Allen B. Cohen

11. Chinese Immigrant Children with Policy Recommendations
    by Dr. Rose Chao and Prof. Betty Lee Sung

12. "Normalization," U.S. Foreign Policy and Domestic Linkages
    by Prof. James C. Hsiung UDO 18813

Continued Next Page

Co-sponsors: Asian American Mental Health Research Center, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle; Bridge Magazine; Chinatown Planning Council, New York City; Jewish Community Relations Council of New York; National Council of Churches; Committee of East Asia and the Pacific; University of Maryland Law School. Funded from the Henry Luce Foundation and The City College Fund.

Page Two - Table of Contents

Appendix:

(a) List of Participants of the AAAPR National Advisory Council Dinner

(b) 1978, Spring Conference Program

(c) Bridge magazine, Summer, 1978 with AAAPR reports, papers, articles, photos

(d) Newspaper clippings

City of Los Angeles

PROCLAMATION

Asian-American Assembly Week

WHEREAS, in response to a need for discussion of major policy issues as they impact upon the Asian community in America, the City College of the City University of New York in conjunction with the Field and Henry Luce Foundations established and endow the Asian-American Assembly for Policy Research; and

WHEREAS, among the functions of the Asian-American Assembly for Policy Research is the sponsorship of an annual conference to discuss the impact of American domestic and foreign policy on the Asian community in America; and

WHEREAS, nearly 500 scholars, public policy experts, elected officials and leaders of the Asian community will gather in New York City on Friday, May 12th and Saturday, May 13th, 1978 for the Second National Conference on Asians in America and Asian Americans, and

WHEREAS, through discussion of American domestic and foreign policy as it impacts upon the Asian community, it is hoped that constructive solutions to many of the problems facing the Asian community and urban America will arise:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, TOM BRADLEY, Mayor of the City of Los Angeles, on behalf of its citizens, do hereby proclaim May 12, 1978, as "ASIAN-AMERICAN ASSEMBLY DAY" in the City of Los Angeles and call upon all citizens to support the efforts of the Asian-American Assembly for Policy Research in helping to resolved some of America's most difficult domestic and foreign policy problems.

May 12, 1978

Tom Bradley
MAYOR

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THE CITY OF NEW YORK

THE COUNCIL

STATED MEETING

Tuesday, May 9, 1978, 1.30 o'Clock P.M.

Carol Bellamy, President of the Council

Council Members

Thomas J. Cuite
Vice-Chairman
Susan Alter
Angelo J. Arculeo
Herbert E. Berman
Mary T. Codd
Jerry L. Crispino
Michael DeMarco
Wendell Foster
Miriam Friedlander
Gilberto Gerena-Valentin
Abraham G. Gerges
Anthony I. Giacobbe
Carol Greitzer
Samuel Horwitz
Leon A. Katz
Arthur J. Katzman
Stephen B. Kaufman
Nicholas LaPorte
Sheldon S. Leffler
Thomas J. Manton
Eugene F. Mastropieri
Ruth W. Messinger
Stanley E. Michels
Jack R. Muratori
Antonio G. Olivieri
Luis A. Olmedo
Mary Pinkett
Morton Povman
Vincent A. Riccio
Robert Rodriguez
Aileen B. Ryan
Edward L. Sadowsky
Frederick E. Samuel
Joseph Savino, Jr.
Theodore Silverman
Stanley Simon
Archie Spigner
Robert S. Steingut
Henry J. Stern
Jane B. Trichter
Peter F. Vallone

Excused: Council Member Ward.

The presence of a quorum was announced by the President of the Council.

The Invocation was delivered by Reverend Walter Keiler, Church of the Open Door, 201 Gold Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Res. No. 232

Resolution Designating Friday, May 12, 1978 Asian American Assembly Day in the City of New York.

By Council Member Horwitz; also Council Members Crispino, Foster, Gerena-Valentin, Leffler, Messinger, Michels, Olmedo, Pinkett, Povman and Trichter—

Whereas, In response to a need for discussion of major policy issues as they impact upon the Asian community in America, the City College of the City University of New York in conjunction with the Field and Henry Luce Foundations established and endow the Asian American Assembly for Policy Research; and

Whereas, Among the functions of the Asian American Assembly for Policy Research is the sponsorship of an annual conference to discuss the impact of American domestic and foreign policy on the Asian community in America; and

Whereas, Nearly 500 educators, policy experts, elected officials and leaders of the Asian community will gather at the Graduate Center of the City University on Friday, May 12 and Saturady, May 13, 1978 for the Second National Conference on Asians in America and Asian Americans; and

Whereas, From discussion of American foreign and domestic policy as it impacts upon the Asian community, it is hoped that constructive solutions to the problems facing the Asian community and urban America will arise;

Resolved, That the Council of The City of New York designates, Friday, May 12, 1978 Asian American Assembly Day in The City of New York and welcomes those attending the Second National Conference on Asians in America and Asian Americans to The City of New York.

On motion of the Vice-Chairman (Mr. Cuite), and adopted. The matter was made a General Order for the Day and unanimously adopted by a viva voce vote.

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THE SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE

By Carolyn Chai

Problems, opportunities and priorities for Asians in America and Asian Americans were analyzed and discussed by more than 200 participants in the second national conference of the Asian American Assembly for Policy Research, in New York City, May 12-13.

U.S. Senator S. I. Hayakawa (REP., Calif.) delivered the keynote address at a dinner meeting of the Assembly's Advisory Council on the topic "Trade with Japan and Korea," and described the problem of foreign competition and the need for American companies to pursue a more rigorous line in opening up foreign markets. He concluded with a plea for increased foreign language studies in the United States.

The Senator, along with Judge Harry W. Low of the Superior Court of California, Judge William M. Marutani of the Court of Common Pleas, Philadelphia, and Dr. Robert E. Marshak, President of the City College of New York, received awards in the form of a special Chinese scroll citing their individual "Distinguished careers and service to the Asian Community."

Nine workshop panels focused on the conference's pertinent topics and were conducted by participants from seventeen states and Washington, D.C., recognized members of university faculties from throughout the U.S., representatives from the U.N., the U.S. government and a former representative of a foreign government.

Judge Harry W. Low delivered a challenge in his address on Saturday morning on the topic, "Asians in the Mainstream." (See this issue Bridge.)

Moderator and chairman of the two-day event was Dr. Winberg Chai, professor and chairman of the CCNY Department of Asian Studies and chairman of the Asian American Assembly for Policy Research.

Henry Luce, III, chairman of the AAAPR's National Advisory Council and vice president of Time, Inc., presented the morning Welcome Address and also presented the four distinguished service awards with Prof. Chai at the conference banquet.

Greetings from the Mayors of Los Angeles and New York City were delivered to the conference and issued as proclamations of "Asian American Assembly Week."

Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles cited the assembly and the City College of New York as meeting a response to a "need for discussion of major policy issues as they impact upon the Asian community in America." He called upon all citizens to support the efforts of the Asian American Assembly for Policy Research in "helping to resolve some of America's most difficult domestic and foreign policy problems."

Honorable Miriam Friedlander, member of the New York City Council, delivered a major address and read a resolution adopted by the New York City Council.

FOREIGN POLICY

"Competing Issues and Priorities on the U.S. Foreign Policy Calendar" was the theme for the foreign policy panel chaired by Prof. James C. Hsiung of New York University. Results of a poll of opinion on attitudes toward normalization of relations with China was presented by panel participants, Prof. Ying-mao Kau, Brown University; Dr. Ilpyong Kim, professor, University of Connecticut; Mr. Arthur Day, vice president for Policy Studies; and Dr. Margaret D. Hayes, John Hopkins School for Advance International Studies.

IMMIGRATION

"Asian Immigrants and their Status in the U.S.," the second panel workshop, was chaired by Prof. Hungdah Chiu, University of Maryland Law School. Benjamin Gim, noted New York attorney, outlined the deficiencies and need for reform of immigration laws in the U.S.

"Our immigration laws are unfair, anachronistic, backward looking, primitive in their severity and unworthy of a democratic nation, supposedly secure in its appraisal of its primacy in the family of nations," charged Attorney Gim.

Attornies Stephen Chang and David Simon of the Washington D.C. law firm Bregman, Abell, Solter and Kay, presented cases and statutory developments with respect to the Asian immigrants in the U.S.

A third paper, "Asian Immigration in Economic and Social Perspective" (an abstract of which is included in this issue of Bridge) was delivered by Prof. Edwin P. Reubens, City College of New York.

ASIAN IDENTITY

The Rev. Dr. Franklin J. Woo, China Program Director, National Council of Churches, chaired the third panel on "Identity and Participation in a Pluralistic Society." Mrs. Elizabeth Lee Abbott, church history researcher and social work consultant, Massachusetts, discussed "Liberation of the Past; Liberation by the Past." She maintained that "each generation has its unwelcome immigrants....Their fate is generally tied to economic conditions."

Rev. Phillip Kyung Sik Park, Associate, Asian Mission Development Program, United Presbyterian Church, described " A New American Ideal: Unity through Pluralism." He suggested that "persons of Asian ancestry in the U.S. like other groups have had to come up with a new identity in order to function in a different age. For motivation in this direction like other ethnic groups, we owe a debt of gratitude to the U.S. Black Community."

Publication of several of these papers are scheduled to appear in the next issue of BRIDGE.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

"Education for Asian Americans"---topic for Panel Four, chaired by Prof. Ruth Grossman, City College of New York, with Prof. Harry H.L. Kitano, UCLA, referred to "Asian American Studies in Higher Education." Ms. Annie L. Wong, bilingual guidance counselor, Seward Park High School, New York City, discussed the social and psychological problems of recent immigrated Chinese high school students that have led them "to a lowered sense of self esteem and loss of pride in racial and cultural identity."

She charged that counseling activities of the traditional type fail to meet mental health needs of such students.

Asian American studies in the elementary schools was examined by Mr. David Fong, principal of Public School No. 2, New York City. Serving as discussants for this panel were Dr. Carl P. Epstein, U.S. Office of Education, and Mrs. Corinne K. Hoexter, editor of Asia, the Asia Society, Inc. Publication.

"Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment" were scrutinized by a distinguished panel of professors, government officials and noted civil rights advocates from throughout the U.S. Co-chairpersons were Professors Betty Lee Sung, CCNY, and Yuan-li Wu, University of San Francisco. Government representatives were Dr. Lucian Gatewood, U.S. Department of Labor (whose paper is presented in this issue of Bridge); and Mrs. Betty Lim Guimaraes, State Commissioner for Fair Employment Practices, San Francisco, and Mr. Tino Calabia, of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Washington, D.C.

INDO-CHINESE IN U.S.

Prof. William T. Liu, director of the Asian American Mental Health Institute, University of Illinois, Chicago, chaired Panel Six on the topic "The Indo-Chinese in the United States." The problems of resettlement of the more than 180,000 Vietnamese refugees who have taken up residence in the U.S. were considered by this panel. A discussion on the continuing problems facing these refugees in America were presented by panelists Dr. Tran Minh Tung, former Minister of Health, Vietnam; Dr. Chou T. M. Le, assistant vice president for advance studies, University of Notre Dame, who is the former president of the University of Hue; and Dr. Elene Yu, co-investigator, Vietnamese Refugee Study Project for the Asian American Mental Health Center, Chicago, and San Diego State University.

TEACHING ENGLISH TO IMMIGRANTS

A scholarly and carefully researched presentation of "Teaching English to Asian Immigrants" was chaired by Prof. John H. Koo, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

Extensive preparation on the topic was shared by panelists: Professors Dan Hendriksen, Western Michigan University; Nancy Lay, CCNY; Seiichi Nakada, Princeton; Ho-min Sohn, University of Hawaii, and Robert St. Clair, University of Louisville.

The Asian Assembly for Policy Research plans publication of this panel's papers in conjunction with a university press.

RACISM AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Proposing a new organization of scholars of Asian descent was the consensus of the panel chaired by Dr. Priscilla Ching-Chung, University of Hawaii, and Judge William M. Marutani, Philadelphia.

Mr. Joji Konoshima, Democratic National Committee Asian American Coordinator, Washington, D.C., urged financial support by Asian Americans to parties of their choice.

Prof. Herbert J. Horikawa of Temple University, presented an excellent analysis titled, "Psychological Impact of Racism," and Prof. Roger K. Oden, Governor State University, shared his research on "Racism and Employment." These papers are scheduled for publication in forthcoming issues of Bridge.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

New York's Chinatown Planning Council (CPC) was presented as a model for community service projects by Mr. Allen B. Cohen and his associates in the conference's Panel Nine on "Research in Community Development and Educational Projects," co-chaired by Professors Winberg Chai and T. K. Tong of CCNY. (An abstract of the CPC's model program is being published in this issue of Bridge.)

Professor Chai also outlined his proposal for a comprehensive history of Asians in America to be submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities. It was also announced that scholars of various Asian ethnic groups will be invited to serve as research associates when this proposal is implemented.

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Judge Harry W. Low
May 13, 1978

ASIAN AMERICAN ASSEMBLY - 2nd ANNUAL CONFERENCE

ASIANS IN THE MAINSTREAM

I am greatly honored by your Distinguished Service Award for Community Affairs, and by your invitation to address you this morning. The Asian-American Assembly is to be congratulated for its excellent work in promoting this conference focusing on means to advance the welfare of Asian-Americans. It is essential that we occasionally confer to identify our common problems and to promote our mutual interests. We share common goals and we have much to gain by sharing our experiences.

You have an excellent agenda for this conference; to take stock of the needs of Asian Americans, to measure our capabilities and to suggest ways to better our communities. You have drawn together a large number of knowledgeable, well-meaning persons. It is heart-warming to know that there is a widespread willingness and commitment by Asians, across this country, eager to work together to help each other.

Let us identify the best of the programs in education,

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in employment and of affirmative action that we have developed in our communities, and fine tune these to be useful to all Asians. Let us review the programs that have failed us and counsel others to avoid similar mistakes, or even better, to correct the causes of the failures.

It is essential that we commit ourselves to total participation in American society, that we not view ourselves as separate from the mainstream. We are not mere sojourners or alternate "homegoers." We should not enclose ourselves in our own Chinatowns, Philippino or Vietnamese settlements, separating ourselves in an Asian world within America. Our commitment to the U.S. is permanent and we need to fully participate. We need to fully contribute. Otherwise any lesser commitment merely adds to cultural conflicts, adds to the ambiguities and the anguish over our own identity and thus creates more difficulties. Of course, we seek to maintain our cultural consciousness. We want to preserve our own identity and share its best parts with non-Asians for that will contribute to the richness of America.

There is something special about being an Asian -- whether one is Japanese, Korean, Philippino, or any other. Each of us takes a particular pride in the culture and history of our ancestors. They were unusual adventurers, they had a perseverance, a determination and desire to succeed which reenforces our own individual faith and confidence. It also challenges us to prove that we are worthy of that heritage. No need to be shy or to be timid about the achievements and contributions by Asians to mankind. In those respects we need not yield when compared to any other immigrant group. But just as any other immigrant group, we Asians need to be able to reach our maximum potentials, and to find our places in America. It is in the blending of the many diverse people, of different cultures, backgrounds and elements that makes for the greatness of this nation. The beauty of America is in its many individual groups, each different from the other, but each fulfilling its full potential of life, liberty and happiness.

It is for these reasons that Asians as a group should gather together to make some critical examinations and to set some goals to help us fulfill our potentials.

Our success in attaining these goals will be infinitely greater if we do not allow ourselves to be overly involved in international politics. Sure, we should have an interest in Asians everywhere in the world. But whether we are pro-People's Republic of China, anti-Marcos, pro- South Korea or anti-North Vietnam or contrary to any such policies, these should not be allowed to impede our advancement. We can't allow too much of our energies to be diverted to those divisive interests. The division sometimes becomes so strong that the advancement of civil and cultural pursuits on the local level becomes entangled in the various sides of old world disputes. The discord in some Asian groups becomes so intense that their effectiveness is strangled by a civil war over which they have no real control. Let us not be divided by these matters. While it is important to be aware of foreign policies that affect us, our stake is here in this country and in our respective communities.

Asians number more than two million in population and we are increasing at a rate faster than the national average. By reason of our respect and appetite for education, our strong family structure, our desire to achieve, our willingness to work hard and our determination to overcome difficult barriers, we can have great impact upon our country. No need for us Asians to look upon ourselves as just a blot or blur upon the American picture. We represent a proud, industrious people, an integral two million or more parts of a multi-cultural nation in a shrinking, changing world. What we discuss and decide today can help add dimension to this greater picture which is the vivid pictorial of America. We can contribute to this composite, not to just add some gloss, not just to create a smudge that conceals our contribution. We must be a part of the action. No need to look upon ourselves as just a small group of anonymous people on a dim landscape of

220 million others. We need not sell ourselves short.

On a smaller scale in Northern California, we have formed a Northern California Asian Leadership Council, chaired by State Assemblyman Floyd Mori of Alameda County. Our goal is to increase the interchange among Asian leaders, to support each others efforts, to avoid duplication, to lend assistance, to make each other more effective in those things that help Asian-Americans. With unity our influence and impact will be greater. More importantly, we are improving our political skills and influence. Frankly, there is considerable political talent, it needs to be developed.

How sad it is to learn the extent of political apathy among Asians. We lack political awareness and our political participation is noticeably lacking. It causes me an uneasy feeling when a fellow Asian makes a complaint, and then says, the government, the Asian Bar, an Asian political organization or just "they" should do something. Perhaps "they should" in a given matter. But no social or government institution can be effective, nor can it long endure without the support, the involvement, and the confidence of the public -- us. We hold that political power. We need to register as voters, the new Asian citizens, encourage them to engage in the political process. We must look for Asian candidates to support. There is room for political criticism and political differences, indeed, that is healthy for any segment of the community. But political rivalry between plain ole Democrats and Republicans should not include the freedom to destroy our own effectiveness. Distrust, doubt and suspicion breed the fears and divisions that will further weaken our effectiveness. It muddles our thinking and damages ourselves. Asian Democrats and Republicans can, and do, need to work with each other. We have a more important common bond that joins us together.

There are social agencies in San Francisco such as the Chinese for Affirmative Action, a very progressive employment rights group, that is working successfully with many other racial groups. Chinese for Affirmative Action has a group of young, dedicated workers whose zealous efforts have won the support and respect of many others. The Asian American Bar Association in the Bay Area and the Asian Law Caucus similarly bring together the talents of Asian lawyers. Their programs have been most helpful to our communities. What is most heartening is the infusion of fresh new energies by Asian young people -- mainly from the local colleges into community agencies. They have moved away from international issues and have devoted themselves to local concerns. Business Administration Majors help Asians in urban centers prepare tax returns. Asian social studies students work with the Asian aged and the needy. Asian law students, especially those from special admissions programs, return to the community to give their assistance. That is why I believe that continued special minority admissions programs to our graduate schools is essential. We Asians would suffer if such special admissions programs should be diluted or eliminated. I have watched and followed the careers of many graduates in law and medicine who were products of special admissions programs. In general they have shown a dedication and zeal to help those less fortunate in the urban centers. They are a credit to their schools.

It is time we diligently join with other minority groups. Lt. Governor Mervyn Dymally of California, a Black, has well-documented population trends that show California will be more than one-half non-White before 1990. Several one-day minority conferences have been held to discuss what this means in terms of political change. We must prepare for this impact.

It would be a great accomplishment, if from this conference, the foundation were laid for formation of a national alliance of Asian Americans. Too many of our concerns are national in scope or deal with national officials and institutions.

Let us begin by identifying the problems that retard our advancement. The problems of poverty, of substandard conditions, the distressing difficulties of unemployment and underemployment, of juvenile violence and of social inequities abound abundantly in Asian urban communities. And 90 percent of the Asian population in the U.S. lives in urban centers. Those conditions reflect on all of us. It restricts our own development, it hurts us no matter what our community. For example, what happens in San Francisco's or New York's Chinatown is often the standard or image by which others judge all the Chinese in the U.S. What solutions we effect, or where we fail, affects us all -- even if only as a matter of pride -- or a showing that we lack that pride. Correction of social evil must continue.

No need to point the fingers of blame, no need to dwell on the past. No need to find excuses. To be sure there has been a past history of Asian discrimination, of unfair laws and unfair practices, of isolation and efforts to ignore Asians. We personally have experienced or known, that Asians were once denied access to the institutions of government, to equal opportunitites in the educational, economic life and in general to the mainstream of social life. It has only been in the last quarter century that many of the anti-Asian laws, and bigoted court decisions were repealed or overturned. One California case which I'd like to share with you ruled that Chinese were Indians. The only witness to a murder was a Chinese miner. California law then said "no Indian could testify against a white man." The trial judge nevertheless let the Chinese witness testify. The convicted defendant appealed to the California Supreme Court. His attorney argued, Chinese were Indians, they looked alike, they were Mongolian. Nature had marked them as inferiors as their cultures have shown.

The Supreme Court agreed. To let Chinese testify would admit them to all the rights of citizenship and we might see them at the polls, the jury box, and even on the *bench*. No doubt, the Legislature did not intend *that*, ruled our Supreme Court. (People v. Hall (1854) 4 Cal. 399.)

When I first came across this case, I immediately checked on its validity. For if Chinese were Indians, I wanted to embrace this outstanding group of native Americans properly. And I wanted to claim my rights. Although native Americans have been subjected to great discrimination, they were also accorded certain privileges. For starters, I wanted my share of oil land, free fishing privileges and free camping in reservations. Fortunately the case was overruled long ago. Yet it is a permanent part of California's legal history, that the highest court of California did write such an intolerant bigoted opinion. It reflected the tone of California government towards Asians for many years.

The prevention of Asian-Americans to access to the institutions of government, particularly to the judicial process, for redress of injustices committed against them, limited our earlier roles. Unfortunately, some of the past discriminatory attitudes against Asians still persist -- not just in private individuals and corporations, but sometimes these attitudes are perpetrated and sensationalized by the theater and the media. Even more deplorable is the discriminatory, neglectful attitude by public agencies and government institutions, including those whose very duty it is to enforce the very laws that are supposed to protect against inequality. Our united efforts could do much to correct those attitudes and to call into account those agencies and leaders in government, business or labor that have shown those shortcomings. We need to call into account those same agencies and people who do just as much harm by pure neglect -- who ignore us and thus seek to further isolate us.

All groups should regularly engage in self-examination. Our own lack of unity has delayed the progress of more positive efforts. We need to put our own community in order, and at the same time to be ever vigilant not to allow ourselves to be the maker or promoter of unfair practices or unfair recommendations, especially as they may affect the new Asian immigrant. It would be wrong to dismantle the gains in corrective and fairer national immigration policies in a rush to find simplistic solutions to our complex problems.

In San Francisco, the problems of Chinese involved in criminal acts have had a national impact on many Asians. The increase in crime, shows a lack of effort on our part. We have failed to make law enforcement more responsive to our community. We have failed to provide the economic opportunities to reduce crime; we have failed to correct social conditions that breed and produce the violence. It is one of our most difficult problems. But unless we give it considerable attention, it will adversely affect Asian immigration policies. It will perpetuate a hostile atmosphere that will injure all of us. Already we can see an attitude of law enforcement in San Francisco, where many young Asians charged with any offense are suspected of "gang" activity. Even a victim of a crime who is Asian, is suspected of being a victim of a "gang killing" or "gang assault." That atmosphere of suspicion results in harsher treatment of Asians involved in any way with the criminal justice process. That is indeed unfortunate. It suggests an atmosphere reminicent of the earlier days of anti-Asian feeling.

Let's look at the criminal justice process. How can we help the police give more attention to our communities? What can be done to have more bilingual police officers, or officers who know and understand our community? How can we ease the real fears that impede citizen participation? How can we ease the process for Asians to report crimes? Throughout the justice system we know we are doing a poor job getting information quickly in reporting crimes and in assisting victims. How can we help give "gang related crime" more attention? These are crucial and complex questions which need to be confronted.

We need to help provide financial assistance and bilingual services to aid victims and witnesses, to give them the incentive to detect and prosecute crimes. Crime increases without total citizen involvement. In San Francisco, we have conducted panel discussions to acquaint the community with the criminal justice process, and sought to ease the fears that plague the community. We have much more to do. To gain the attention of the police, forums and discussions involving the police have been held. Chinese for Affirmative Action together with a number of minority groups have sued in court for more minority hiring in law enforcement agencies. We have called upon the aid of the U.S. Department of Justice which threatened cut off of LEAA (federal law enforcement assistance) funds unless better services were provided the Chinese Community. Some progress is being made. The California Council on Criminal Justice, of which I am a member, recently adopted a strong affirmative action statement applicable to every agency that receives LEAA funds. While many governmental agencies have adopted affirmative action statements and policies, it takes a persistent, vigilant group to see that those policies are put into effect. That we must do.

Together with law enforcement, our communities need to build a better interchange. In general, there is high respect and esteem by Asians for law enforcement. But, any lack of confidence by either the Asian community or by law enforcement of the community will make less effective the best efforts of either. In essence, we need each other. What can we do to prevent new generations of juvenile and adult delinquents? We have not been successful in deterring new crops of Asian offenders.

Education is basic to self-improvement. Asians have long had a great respect for education. How can we put more of our resources and talents to provide the English handicapped, especially the recent newcomers, young and old, with the necessary English education? This education should include the kinds of counseling and supportive family and social services that help and stimulate the person to become a productive unit in the community. We need to build on good programs, and your discussion today will help identify these. There are government funds, HEW, Department of Labor, NEA and others. The priorities and criteria for funding are often determined in Washington, D.C., or in State Capitols remote in distance and sympathy from our communities. It is important to make these agencies more aware and more sensitive to our needs. We need to aggressively seek and gain the resources to alleviate the difficulties that breed more crime. We have had some highly successful projects, many were initially federally funded. Vocational training, for Chinese Cooks as American chefs, training in building maintenance, in practical nursing skills, all lead to good employment and have been highly beneficial. Some of our newcomer education projects are exemplary and have been copied elsewhere. San Francisco's On-Lok Senior Citizens Center providing out-patient services, and our North East Medical Services Program has done outstanding work for Asians -- primarily for the new Chinese immigrants.

The fate of any minority group is closely tied to economic conditions. Even today we can note that a depressed economy will bring on even more bleak conditions for minorities or the economically oppressed. We need to focus on the best economic opportunities for Asians. Asians need to be economically strong. That means that we must oppose deterioration of the affirmative employment and affirmative promotion policies which have developed. Indeed, we should help expand such affirmative policies and see that these extend to all phases of the economy.

And what better group is there to help develop the expanding economic opportunities in trade with the Pacific Basin and Asian countries. Here we should be the leaders. There are so many natural advantages that we can develop.

For those with language and business skills, their diligence and industry, I have no doubt, will guide them to economic success. In fact, Asians have a higher educational achievement, enjoy a better employment status, Asians have a higher number who own small businesses, and Asians participate in the working force in greater numbers, and in higher percentages, than the national average. The vast majority of Asians are moving into the mainstream of economic life. But it is that smaller portion of unemployed, the underemployed, the ones who have just recently immigrated who have not yet been afforded the same opportunities that need our attention. To them we must extend a helping hand.

And we know that a few members of our Asian communities exploit the new immigrant in employment opportunities. That kind of harsh practice that our forefathers suffered, should not be allowed to reoccur. That some of our own Asian employers permit this to exist, only brings about the kinds of competition that further depress the advancement of those underemployed.

Oppressive acts, especially if practiced by our own community on the economically weak, will increase their isolation. That leads to resentment and to violence. The vicious cycle intensifies and bad economic conditions get worse. The injustice of unfair working conditions and low pay is not visited only on those who must suffer these, the true unhappiness is visited on those who are doing it.

I am confident that there are no social problems we cannot solve together. Given the knowledge, given the vehicle for change and having the willingness, the desire to better our community, we can make significant improvements. Admittedly, our resources are limited. The demands for your leadership and assistance are great. Any solution to the community's problems will require large commitments. But we can summon help. We can arrange a division of responsibility. We can stimulate others into action. There is much to do. The benefits will be momentous if we succeed. On the other hand, the damage to all will be severe if we do not try. Let us begin our work.

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The Asian American Assembly for Policy Research
Graduate Center, City University of New York
May 13, 1978

A PLURALISTIC PERSPECTIVE ON ASIAN AMERICAN IDENTITIES*

(Chinese in America and Chinese-Americans as two descriptive categories in the quest for cultural identity)

Among the peoples of Chinese origins in America there are many strands of history. Some merge into others, while some are entirely separate. In the Chinese communities there is a plurality of experiences depending on when a particular group came to America, under what circumstances they came, and their own self-understanding of their experience in this country. In light of this plurality of experiences it would be indeed difficult to speak of *the* Chinese experience in America. Likewise, we cannot speak of *the* Chinese community, or the *one* Chinese ethnicity or its understanding.

In so far as it is possible to do so, each group, or cluster of groups, must sort out to its own satisfaction its *story* that will give meaning, purpose and direction to life in the United States. That story, if it is to sustain a sense of collective well-being of a people (peoplehood), must be authentically *theirs*, and it must be authentically *true*.[1] It must string together the significant events over time which can provide its people with a common memory, a common meaning, and common hope. To be authentically true means that the story of a people must be, not only uniquely theirs but it must also be able to touch base with the stories of other people in America, and elsewhere. It must relate to people of different races

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*This short paper affirms the diversity and pluralism as a new ideal for the emerging American society. It makes a plea that if Asian Americans really believe in pluralism, we must recognize and affirm the pluralism within our own communities and seek unity in and through them. The paper draws from the experiences of peoples of Chinese origins in the United States. Where it refers to *Chinese in America* and *Chinese-Americans*, we can perhaps substitute the terms *Asians in America* and *Asian-Americans* respectively.

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and cultures insofar as the depth of human experiences of longing and striving to be, of anguish, joy, love, hate, sorrow, suffering and hope are concerned. In short, the stories of people must be both particular and universal insofar as there is a unity that binds together all the diverse experiences of humankind.

No one group of people of Chinese origin, however, can or should set itself up as the norm for all peoples of Chinese origins in the United States.

For those who wish to discover their identity in the United States, they must come to some understanding of themselves within the context of this country. Here we have the whole history of American Chinese relations from which to draw (relations between America and China).

When my wife and I were on the staff of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, I was part of an International Asian Studies Program which drew students from many American eastern liberal arts colleges and from many campuses of the University of California. Among the students who participated in the program (especially those from California) were many Chinese-Americans. As a matter of fact, the program gave special preference to Chinese-American students because they seem to benefit more than others from the experience in their own unique and personal way.

For many of the Chinese-American young people it was a real sense of discovery and liberation for them to learn the Chinese language (Cantonese, Mandarin, or both), to know something of where they fitted in history, and to learn about their own background in a systematic and intellectual way as well as living in a Chinese society.

Also, during the 16 years that we were in Hong Kong many of our friends from San Francisco would come to Hong Kong "in search of their Asian souls." When asked what they were doing about this quest, the answers would range from learning Mandarin to Chinese cooking, or Tai Chi Chuan to Peking Opera. To my Chinese-American contemporaries who seek only some of the superficial manifestations of Chinese identity I usually say, "Don't forget U.S. history, and especially California history and the part the Chinese had to play." After that, perhaps, then they can be as broad as they want in drawing from both American and Chinese history.

In the attempt to work out an intellectual framework for Chinese ethnic self-understanding, let us look at the ways that some scholars have categorized the peoples of Chinese origins in the United States.

Francis Hsu[2], a Chinese who was born in Manchuria and who is an anthropologist from Northwestern University, sees four categories of Chinese origins in the United States: 1) Professionals and Scholars, 2) Chinatown-oriented Chinese, 3) Chinese in Hawaii, and 4) Transients who may be students, government or business people, mostly from Taiwan, who are studying or receiving training in this country.

Hsu seems to favor the category of Professional and Scholars because of their superior intellect and culture which enable them to rise above any racial discrimination which they might meet in this country. He finds many tu sheng (native-born) among the Chinatown-oriented Chinese. Interestingly enough, he does not seem to include the sons and daughters of the Professionals and Scholars in the category of tu sheng, even though they, by definition, are native-born Chinese.

Stanley Sue and Derald Sue[3], two native-born Chinese (from Oregon) are psychologists at the University of California at Los Angeles. They have their own unusual set of categories: 1) The Traditionalist (Chinese), 2) The Marginal Man (minority in American society), and 3) The Asian-American which, for them, is the ideal. The Asian-American is one who is more aware of the racist dimension in American society and who refuses to be assimilated into it on its own terms.

Tu Wei-ming[4], from Kunming, China and Taiwan and who is Professor of History at the University of California at Berkeley, sees essentially three separate Chinese communities in America: 1) those associated with universities, 2) those with industries, and 3) those who live in Chinatown. He says that even though many Chinese people who came to America in recent years have very little to do with the native-born Chinese here, they will soon have to deal with native-born Chinese--those within their own family, namely their own children. He suggests that the Chinese peoples, whatever their origins, can work together to find some commonalities of Chinese ethnic understanding in America. He sees this task as essentially a dynamic evolving process. For him Chinese ethnicity within the American context is something yet to be developed. Even for those who might have been certain of their identity in another context, in a new environment ethnic identity is to be sought anew, for it determines how one relates to others.

To make a synthesis of these peoples' views I would like to simplify the various categories into two separate views of ethnic awareness and experience: 1) Chinese in America, and 2) Chinese-Americans. Chinese in America and Chinese-Americans are two general ways in which peoples of Chinese origins in the United States perceive themselves. Chinese in America are people who consider themselves as essentially Chinese, living in America. Many of the recent graduates of the Chinese University of Hong Kong who have emigrated to this country see themselves this way. Chinese-Americans, on the other hand, consider themselves as primarily Americans, but of Chinese origin.

These two categories are seen as two independent perceptions of ethnic awareness and experience. There is no attempt to put a value judgement on either one as being better or worse than the other. This is an important point. The two independent perceptions of ethnic awareness and experience are not seen as being antithetical to one another. They are not mutually exclusive, in competition with one another, or in an attempt to displace one another or to subsume one in the other.

Chinese in America and *Chinese-Americans* as used here are two *descriptive* and separate categories. Both are dynamic, fluid and by no means fixed, immutable categories. They seek to provide a tentative general framework for understanding the processes of different self-perceptions on the part of peoples of Chinese origins in the United States. Seen as tentative categories, *Chinese in America* and *Chinese-Americans* can serve as providing the framework for Chinese people to work together in the quest of Chinese ethnic self-understanding.

Some Chinese in America, who see themselves as essentially Chinese, consider being *Americanized* (whatever this term means) as a betrayal of one's ethnic and cultural heritage. They would do everything they can within their power to preserve their tradition and resist being too "American." On the other hand, some Chinese-Americans see themselves as American by birth, being in America longer than the new immigrants, perhaps more commited to America, and therefore somehow "more American". American-born Chinese who hold this view are in reality no different than Anglo-Saxons who claim to be more American than others, simply because their ancestors came over on the Mayflower or that their people have been in this country longer than others. In this view there is an hierarchical scale of "being American" in differing degrees that is based on ones heritage and longevity of stay in this country. Chinese-Americans who think this way have, consciously or otherwise, been taken in by the 'melting pot' concept to which others must fit into their image of what constitute being "American" or "Chinese-American".

The two above groups will see the two categories of *Chinese in America* and *Chinese-Americans* as being two opposite poles in a spectrum of differing degrees of ethnic awareness and self-understanding. The two perceptions are seen as being in a dialectical relationship of tension on the same plane. The more of one will be the less of the other. When we were getting ready to go to Hong Kong to live and work some 18 years ago, a friend of mine said to me, "Poor Frank, you'll be so Chinafied in Hong Kong that we won't be able to recognize you when you come back." The assumption here is that the more Chinese one is, the less American one will be, and vice-versa, the implication being "You'll be so much like them that you will no longer be like us."

These two views are seen as trying to displace one another in an either/or way. Somehow they share a common understanding of America as a society where ethnic groups either accept and try to fit into or reject a static American culture, and thus assert their own ethnic and cultural uniqueness. They give in to the "melting pot" idea where the stirrers of the pot are the European-Anglo-Saxon Americans, and others are to be melted in. Minorities in this country owe a singular debt to the Black revolution which gained momentum in the mid-1960s. Following in its wake were not only the groups such as Hispanics, Chicanos, native Americans, Asian Americans, but white ethnics such as the Poles, Italians, Greeks and Slovaks as well. Will this rise of ethnic consciousness tear apart the social fabric of American society? Or, will it, if faced directly and creatively, lead America to a higher level of the open society and an accepting society? The problems of diversity before us as a nation seem insurmountable, but the promises of enrichment in diversity seem also unlimited.

I would submit, however, that germane to an understanding of Chinese ethnicity in America is not ethnicity alone, but how America itself is being perceived as well. The underlying assumption in considering Chinese in America and Chinese-Americans as two separate and parallel perceptions of ethnic awareness and experiences is that America itself is understood to be a dynamically changing society. The "melting pot" concept of ethnic groups being assimilated into a predominantly European-Anglo-Saxon society by giving up their own ethnicity is outrightly rejected. The future is open-ended and awaits creation.

What is seen in American society is an emerging new ideal of cultural pluralism which calls for--nay demands--ethnic awareness and identity. America is seen as a rich developing society with diverse groups of people participating with the best of whatever they consider to be their tradition in building the America which is yet to be. The unity of the America of the future must be discovered in and through diversity and pluralism.

Here Chinese in America and Chinese-Americans can help each other to discover the best in Chinese ethnicity in the American setting as a contribution to the emerging mosaic which is dynamically coming into view. An understanding of history in the broadest possible context of Chinese-American relations can liberate peoples of Chinese origins in America from narrow and inward self-perceptions to new horizons and unlimited possibilities of not only ethnic and American, but international and global awareness and identity as well. Identity is always seen in relation to others; it is never sought for its own sake.

Franklin J. Woo

April 20, 1978

Notes:

[1] Joseph R. Levenson, Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968. See pp. xxvii-xxxiii especially for an introduction to the idea of cultural identity.

[2] Francis L.K. Hsu, The Challenge of the American Dream: The Chinese in the United States. Belmont, California: Wadworth Publishing Company, 1971.

[3] Stanley Sue and Derald W. Sue, "Chinese American Personality and Mental Health" in Roots: An Asian American Reader. Published by the Regents of the University of California, 1971, pp. 72-82.

[4] "Interview with Prof. Wei-ming Tu" by John Y. Lo in East/West, The Chinese American Journal, January 4 and 11, 1978.

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A NEW AMERICAN IDEAL: Unity Through Pluralism

The title of this paper may seem a bit presumptuous. To counteract any such tendency and because I am a churchman, I would like to begin with a Biblical illustration.

The Book of Galatians in the New Testament is essentially a statement of freedom. From a sociological rather than a theological perspective, however, it is the story of conflict in the church. David Bronson, a New Testament scholar, describes it in this way: "The conflict between Paul and the Jerusalem leaders in the Epistle to the Galatians is clarified when it is viewed as one between two groups divided by unacknowledged political and social differences."[1] Because the letter resolves these differences in a pluralistic way, it provides some insight in the current sociological scene in the United States.

Briefly stated, the conflict in Galatians is between a church centered in Jerusalem which can be characterized as the spiritual child of Jewish tradition albeit changed by a new religious insight provided by Jesus. The church in Galatia, a city in Asia Minor, is made up essentially of non-Jews who originally were content to develop a new religious tradition divorced from Judaism, but who as a religious minority in the church are now seeking to adopt elements of Jewish tradition as a means of enhancing their assimilation into the church. The issue is resolved in a pluralistic manner. At a conference in Jerusalem, the leaders of the church decide that diversity can exist in the church without destroying the unity that their common faith provides.

Now I want to be presumptuous and suggest that the way to deal with the present, largely unacknowledged racial conflict in our society is in a similarly pluralistic fashion. Such a

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concept of pluralism can take into consideration the present revival of ethnic identity in all ethnic communities including the Asian American as well as deal with the issue of American identity in the midst of burgeoning ethnic sensitivity.

Dealing with one's ethnic roots in America must begin with understanding ethnic group history in the United States. Asian American history is characterized by several elements.

First there is the legal history dominated by attempts to exclude or restrict Asians from full participation in American society. We are all familiar with immigration exclusion acts, miscegenation laws and acts restricting land ownership in California to citizens. Our history is also characterized by unfortunate acts of violence. Whether it was in the massacre of Chinese in Rock Springs, Wyoming, the oppression of Filipino farm workers or the unforgiveable Executive Order 9066 which forced Japanese Americans into concentration camps, Asians in America have suffered simply because of their ancestry. And finally, although certainly not completely, Asian history in the United States indicates that our community is one which is continually facing the issue of ethnicity. That is the fact of immigration means the constant renewal of the Asian American community and the fact that it must deal continually with the issue of what and who it is.

Asian American history is obviously also characterized by the fact that it takes place within the larger context of American history and is the subject to its influences. This larger historical perspective is in part responsible for the present growing emphasis on Asian American identity and concerns.

Harold Isaacs, emeritus professor of political science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology talks about such emphasis on ethnicity as "part of the great wrenching rearrangement of racial/ethnic pecking orders, perceptions, behaviors that has been going on in American society since the end of World War II."[2] That is the breakdown of the white supremacy philosophy of order and government also did away with as Isaacs puts it, "the accompanying styles of perception and self-perception and the relative status of people grouped in their many tribes/races/nationalities."[3]

In other words, persons of Asian ancestry in the United States like other groups have had to come up with a new identity in order to function in a different age. For motivation in this direction, like other ethnic groups, we owe a debt of gratitude to the U.S. Black community.

Such ethnic identity revival as has happened in the Asian American community certainly has its positive aspects. For us, it has meant self-affirmation in a society which has dealt with Asians from a negative perspective. An emphasis on ethnicity has meant also a positive reinforcement in our community. That is, we have no longer felt ashamed of our Asian heritage, but rather saw the community as the place where one could be sustained and reinforced for dealing with life. Community has also meant the discovery of the fact that the issues and problems facing Asian Americans can best be resolved not by each individual struggling alone, but through the combined resources of his ethnic community or the broader Asian American community.

As we rejoice in our new-found sense of identity and what it has meant for us individually and for the community of which we are a part, we find at least one critical question being raised. Is ethnicity itself our goal? Certainly the new ethnicity has attracted its critics as well as its supporters.

For example, Howard Stein and Robert Hill in an article in the American Scholar entitled, "The Limits of Ethnicity" criticize the new ethnicity issue because they claim its logical consequence is a return to the policy of "separate but equal".

Orlando Patterson, a Harvard professor, writing in the New York Times, although himself a Black, accuses the new ethnicity as being a "retreat from (the) constitutional commitment to the ideal of equality." Patterson goes on to say the emphasis on ethnicity is socially divisive, obfuscating and even anti-American.

Certainly the new ethnicity does have its weaknesses. The danger of a kind of ethnic chauvinism does exist which, while not proposing a return to the political principle of "separate but equal", can have the effect of limiting perspective and ignoring the total community. A more serious weakness may be indicated in the question of how the new ethnicity relates to the whole. Speaking to this concern, Isaacs indicates that the meaning of ethnicity "depends on how 'American' this new self-image come to be, on how our sense of the 'one' is coupled with our rediscovery of merit in the 'many'.

How do we maintain the positive elements of our ethnic revival and still avoid the pitfalls of ethnic chauvinism? Ethnicity is solid evidence that the "melting pot" concept of Israel Zangwell and others was pure and simple fallacy. Residents of the United States cannot be amalgamated into one homogeneous American whole. Yet it needs to be equally emphasized that we cannot ignore the elements of commonality which affect all of us no matter from whence our ancestors have come. To use the common parlance we are all affected by "baseball, apple pie and Chevrolet." Residents of these United States, particularly those of us who are non-white, live therefore, in a constant tension between maintaining elements of our ethnic heritage and functioning in whatever commonality can be said to exist here.

We need, therefore, some basis for recognizing diversity without denying the unifying factors in American life and experience. What that might be has never been easy to understand for any American.

Perhaps the latest attempt to try to provide such a unifying principle in American life was the movement toward integration in the 1960's. As conceived the focus of this movement was to provide a basis by which residents of the United States could operate equally in the structures and conditions of society. Conception and practice, however, did not exist. In spite of the expressed concern for integration on the part of a considerable portion of our society, an integrated society did not emerge. To a great extent this is because what the majority community wanted was not integration --- not the "interaction of equals." In a little article entitled, "Ethnic Pluralism or Black Separatism?", Preston Williams, another Black Harvard professor calls for the rejection of integration as it has been practiced because, " it refers to the white policy whether in society or in the church to define and solve every issue from the point of view of the white man."[4] What integration tried to do, as practiced in the United States was to make everyone a WASP. Given the bankruptcy of this philosophy and the emergence of the new ethnicity, we need a new principle to deal with the multi-ethnic entity which is the United States.

The thesis of this paper is that racial pluralism (a bad term, but a better one doesn't seem readily available) can be the basis on which ethnicity, representing diversity, and the concept of an American unity can come together in order to develop a better society.

Racial pluralism might be variously defined. It can be described as the means by which diversity and unity interact. In a pluralistic society, racial diversity (ethnic diversity) could be encouraged not as ethnic chauvinism, but as the basis on which the seemingly disparate parts can be joined together in seeking the common good. Pluralism refers to the fact that the whole is comprised of its parts. It means that the current diversity, indeed the pluralism, that exists in American society will be taken seriously both for what it contributes to the particular ethnic group and for what it adds to the whole. In American society we need to discover that the whole cannot exist without its parts and the individual parts cannot function without the unity which is the whole.

The issue that racial pluralism addresses is group identity. We need not confuse the issue by asking whether or not there is such a thing as an American identiy. The point is that for our society to function we need such an identity. To a serious degree, such an identity has been damaged by the events of the past several years --- Vietnam, Watergate and now Koreagate. To re-forge such an identity, now, however, becomes more possible because of the new ethnicity. Group identity is based on a strong sense of individual identity. When ethnicity is emphasized it means that the ethnic community is stronger and that the larger group, American society can be itself strengthened. That is, if ethnic chauvinism is avoided and the value of the whole society is understood. Racial pluralism, then, can become the basis for dealing with ethnicity in the context of the entire American society. Having said this, we need to ask a question.

What can racial pluralism potentially mean for the whole American society? At least three things come immediately to mind.

First of all, the concept of racial pluralism is a basis on which people can deal with the whole of society from their own particular experiences and insights. What racial pluralism does for the variety of ethnic groups and for Asian Americans in particular is to affirm the validity of each of these groups. This means that the elements of culture and heritage which survive are important and need to be preserved. The "melting pot" concept is gone forever. From the current struggle for racial insight and identity, we need to evolve not only an identity for ourselves, but deal also with the issue of how we can be a part of the whole society.

In dealing with identity, we need to recognize that the basic experiences of life are racial and cultural. To ignore such experiences as some Asian Americans have tried to do, or to try to lessen their emotional impact means not dealing with something which is uniquely our own. To deal with such experiences is not a movement toward paranoia. Rather it is a recognition that the totality of our experiences makes us what we are.

A good current illustration of this may be found in the book, Woman Warrior, by Maxine Hong Kingston, who writes basically about how traditional Chinese culture transmitted through her immigrant parents has impacted her own life. In some respects this very autobiographical book deals with how the author is working through some of these childhood experiences to become the person she is today.

Obviously each of us must do the same thing. The importance of negative experiences, experiences of prejudice if you will, is not that we have experienced such things. No particular reason exists to glorify the number of times we have been called "Chink" or "Jap" or to somehow mythologize Manzanar. We need to remember such experiences. Indeed we may need to remind ourselves of them and make our children aware of them. Certainly we need to remind the majority community of them. But all of these experiences find their significance in our capacity to work through them in order to find their importance for our identity and for their contribution to our present ability to deal with issues and experience, some unfortunately which is very similar to that of the past. Our identity rooted in our experience becomes the basis on which we relate to society.

As a second point, racial pluralism is part of a continuum whicn hopefully will lead to a just society. By continuum I mean that we are moving in dealing with the issues of race from segregation toward a just society. I see integration and racial pluralism as means toward than end.

In talking about a just society, we are, of course, among other things dealing with the issue of equality. On the one hand, this means equality of opportunity and all that this term has come to mean both in terms of what has been achieved and what is hoped for.

In a racially pluralistic society, justice must also be seen in terms of legal justice. One of the personal concerns I have had over the past several years is the increasing number of legal cases involving Asian Americans. Perez-Narciso, Yung Min Kim, the Tam brothers, Wendy Yoshimura are all examples of situations in which Asian Americans have or may have been denied equal access to the law because of race. The just society may be a legitimate goal, but unfortunately it is not quite upon us. Racial pluralism, offers, however, a concept which if followed would move this society in the direction of justice for all.

My final point is this. Pluralism means a commitment to an inclusive society. By such a society I mean one in which the opportunities of education, economy and politics are really open to all.

Although persons better versed in politics and sociology have said it better than I can, we live in a society which is not inclusive. In education, drop-out rates among racial minorities, including Asians, belie the fact that education is inclusive. The economy is dominated by an oligarchy of the wealthy and while few starve, poverty is a reality for far too many. The costs of running for office quite obviously limit opportunities in the political arena.

An inclusive society makes the needs of the people paramount. And if this statement were taken seriously, it would threaten all of the institutions of our society, including the church. The reason for the threat is that most institutions are so much involved in survival that the capacity to deal with people's needs is seriously jeopardized.

While the inclusive society builds on the concept of a just society, inclusion cannot be separated from power. Let's be completely candid. The most basic separation in society is between the powerful and the powerless. Unless the powerless can somehow articulate their needs and their concerns and unless the institutions of society will respond to the people's needs the desired changes in our society cannot take place.

The achievement of power calls for drastic change. To be realistic, I do not believe our society is ready for a revolution nor are the so-called "radicals" of our society in any real position to exercise any kind of authority. What needs to happen is for people like ourselves --- middle-class, well-educated, economically comfortable --- to make some commitment beyond self-satisfaction. In other words, we need to understand that being Asian American in the best sense of the term means not only coming to grips with personal identity, but also dealing with what it means to be in the Asian American community. Our community is in a position to wield influence, but only as it understands the possibilities for power within itself and in relationship to the other communities which comprise our society.

Understanding and using power does not detract from the concept of pluralism. Rather, an understanding of the dynamics which affect the inter-relationships of the several ethnic groups in this country is essential to making the concept of pluralism into something practical. Pluralism, a pluralistic society, is obviously a dream, but there are acts of reality within the ideal which if pursued can move us along the way to a better society.

Presenting some ideas about a pluralistic society within the context of this paper is not to be construed as an exercise in fantasy. Some societies are obviously far beyond our own in this regard. Canada, for example, while not presenting a perfect model of a pluralistic society, does officially recognize and value the many ethnic expressions which contribute to Canadian life. Compare that to the United States in which, there is difficulty getting a bill sponsoring an official Pacific/Asian American emphasis week through the Congress.

For a more pluralistic society to emerge we must begin with an understanding of what pluralism means. And there can be no better starting point than the Asian American community. Here is an opportunity for our community to provide some leadership for our society. We need to strengthen our own community and our own understanding of our experiences in Asia and in this country. We need also to move toward creating a positive place for ourselves in the larger society of which we are a part. The Asian American community can progress through its continued growth in understanding itself coupled with its concern for a single society which is created by the many groups which comprise it.

NOTES

1. David Bronson, "Paul, Galatians and Jerusalem", Journal of the American Academy of Religion, 35, 1967 p. 119.
2. Harold R. Isaacs, " The One and the Many", American Educator, Spring 1978, p.4.
3. Ibid.
4. Preston Williams, "Ethnic Pluralism or Black Separatism", Social Progress, September-October 1969, p.32.

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Chinese ~~Thougth~~ Thought and Chinese Language: Effects on Students' Writings

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The life of the Chinese students is miserable. On one hand, they have to follow the old tradition of their parents -- conservatism, filial piety, harmony and ~~comprise~~ compromise in human relations; on the other, they are faced with a changing society in terms of style, fashion, ideas and actions. Old Chinese people, especially the father do not want anybody to oppose his ideas. Everything he says is right. If the children do not listen to him, he will say that they are not "good children". He will start to tell the children how hard he has worked to raise them and all that ..... Thus, a generation gap exists. In almost every case, the gap is between the father and the children. The mother seems to be on the children's side.

Torn between these two societies, the poor young Chinese adult does not know what to do. To go against the will of their parents would be tremendous disrespect which is unheard of in the old-traditional Chinese society. To be considered "good sons and daughters", on the other hand, would mean giving up a lot of friendships, socials, and enjoyments. What should they do?

These cultural conflicts are compounded by their difficulties in the English language. Each individual has his own particular problems but all the problems are related, nevertheless, and are very similar. The ~~contributions~~ constructions of Chinese and English vary much. In writing English a Chinese student finds it even more difficult.

Writing is thinking. The direction or pattern one writes usually stems from one's training and upbringing both educationally and culturally. Many Chinese students do know and have been saturated enough with the Chinese language and tradition. Many of them speak more than one Chinese dialects.

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The following are original quotes from students' essays which best exemplify this point:

> "A famous writer in China, he was also a politician, had said that we should study and learn, not for getting a better job in the future, but because we should study and learn more. This kind of idea is not seen in the U.S. Money is so important that everyone would like to get it even by losing his life."

Another student wrote this,

> "We should not look upon higher education as a means to making money. No doubt, most people are better paid if they have a college degree (provided they have jobs), but I look at college education from another angle. The main objective,from my point of view, for educating a young person in college, is to make him a better and more complete person. Through a variety of studies in different fields, a young person gains awareness on his surroundings. More advanced studies open up his visions, his ability to solve problems. A college student should be better equipped to cope with life because he knows more, not only in the sense of academic subjects but also in relating to pepple."

In response to the question, "What I would ask President-elect Carter to do for the country," another student wrote,

> "Education is the most important thing in human's life. The people who would lead the country to better, have more education. If each person could have higher education, the crime would decrease. This is good for the country.....If I could ask Pres. Carter to do things for the country, first I would ask him to make more education for the country..... The advance country which must have good education. Each person has more education. Education could make the person to do the right thing. Therefore, the edacation is the most important to do for the country.

In response to the topic "When you were a child, what occupation did you what want to have? Why?" a student wrote,

> When I was a kid, I always wanted to be a doctor. The reason I wanted to be a doctor was that I like to help people. I especially care about the sickness and the helpless. I often heard that it takes a smart and studious person to become a doctor and that how difficult it is to get a degree. I always had the feeling that I could prove it to my father and mother that I'm a smart and studious person.

A survey also showed that out of nine students who wrote on th above topic, three chose to be a teacher because:

> "The greatest duty the teachers have done such as how to teach the students from the empty to a full of thoughts into everyone's brain."

> "According to Chinese traditional culture, teachers are respected by everybody."

Here in this paper I want to illustrate the relationship between some features of Chinese thought and Chinese ~~[illegible]~~ language and the features of students' writings.

A. Belief in the value of life, learning and self-reliance .

The Chinese believe in the value of man and his life. To the Chinese, life is worth living which means life has to go on generation after generation. The whole process starts with the children's innate love of their parents, followed by the duties of the filial male descendant (since the sons are the ones who perpetuate the name of the family in the Chinese society) to esteem highly the origin of his life as a sign of respect to the parents, to cherish that life, and to continue the blood line through marriage, so as to maintain the flow of life in the next generation without interruption.

Words like *ren*'man', *sying* 'nature' *shan* 'good', *tyan* 'heaven', *ming* 'fate', *li* 'principle', are terms that Chinese students hear a lot and that have formed a part of their lives. Chinese students are more comfortable with vocabulary related to life, world, nature on different levels. Because these words connote a vast meaning depending on the whole context of the whole discourse, students have problems specifying the limits of these terms. There is a tendency to be vague and general since these terms are vague and general in themselves. On the intellectual side, the love for learning or educating oneself to the highest level possible is just as important in cultivating one's personal virtues.

In a CCNY placement exam, the topic was"the jobs that colleges prepare people for are not the jobs that are going to be in most demand". One point that kept popping up from many of the essays written by Chinese students was that whether one gets a job or not does not matter. What is important is to learn more in college. Chinese students have been brought up by the tradition that education or higher learning is very important. For a topic that is related to education, one can p~~redetermine~~/ almost predict with certainty what direction the Chinese student would take in developing his essay.

> "In my mind, a teacher is a very powerful person. All the students have to listen to him. He looks like a commander in an army, the chief of a gov't, the parent of a family, etc."

Implications:

There should be a careful selection of writing topics for Chinese students. Since one has a pretty good idea of what dimection the Chinese student would take in topics relating to education, college, learning, and one knows that they are more comfortable in these topics, one would start with these topics and gradually move on to topics in other fields, such as, politics, world issues, etc. But again bear in mind that before any of these subjects are given as writing assignments, enough reading material and information should be presented and discussed. In their culture, these topics are not as inherent in their nature as topics in education. In cases where there are vocal about the topics, one may have difficulty in predicting what direction the Chinese students would take. Even if they did put something down on paper, it does not mean that that is what they believe in.

B. Yin/Yang concept

There are compound words in Chinese based on the idea of yin and yang which has largely conditioned the Chinese outlook toward reality. This is something which has been virtually ignored by Westerners until recent times. Lao Tsu first expressed it in "Under heaven everyone recognizes the beautiful as beautiful,,thus there is the ugly. We recognize good as good, thus there is bad...." Words always give us a one sided view of things, because they take in half of reality. The Chinese philosophers have wanted us to look at both sides of the picture-whether it be philosophical or political. Logic is one thing at a time, strung out in a line, the world as it is, is all things happening NOW. This is the underlying principle that everything conceivable have their complement of yin and yang. Thus the word for the universe is Heaven and Earth. The size of something is its bigness, smallness. Life is birth and death. Distance is the measurement from front to back. Weight is light and heavy. Many examples could be cited of the ways language reflects a world view.

Chinese consider the future "behind" you and the past "ahead" instead of the future being "ahead" as it is in English. Chyan tyan "ahead day" means the day before yesterday, and hou tyan "behind day" means the day after tomorrow. We can see the past, but not the future. Since we see the past, it must be in front of our eyes and the future we cannot see is behind.

Writing on the topic "The person or the event of the year", a student wrote the following paragraph expressing the yin/yang concept of sadness and happiness:

> Everybody felt sad in China about the death of Chairman Mao. People in China rushed to Peking to saw the face of Chairman before his burial. They cried because they felt they lost their great leader which led the communist for the passed few decades. But other nations which against China felt happy about the death of Chairman Mao.

Towards the end of the essay, he adds,

> I felt sad to lost the great leader like Chairman Mao. But I hope we will have another good leader like Chairman Mao to lead China.

Based on the Yin/Yang concept, comparison and contrast could be introduced. The yin/yang examples show to the Chinese students that there are two sides to everything in this world. An analogy could be incorporated by illustrating a parallel between the two and their similarities and differences.

C. Simplicity of words or a minimum of abstract concepts

The Chinese language has a minimum of abstract concepts. English seems to make far greater use of words. For instance, in English, there are such simple object words as *dog* and *cat* and the greater class "animal" to include them. Or there is a concept such as *good* and *later* the concept of *morality*, *virtue* was invented. The number of these words which may have been invented are infinite. But when this kind of language becomes predominant and we lose sight of the simpler, more direct forms of communication which form their basis, then man becomes alienated and estranged from his roots.

The difficulty with Chinese thought, when interpreted to a Westerner, is that it is more closely aligned to that which it describes. The Chinese have never wandered far from practical situations.

We see this simplicity and awareness in the art and poetry of China in particular. The Chinese painter seeks to express himself with a minimum of brush strokes so that he will not be belaboring his theme, but will rather leave room for the imagination and intuition of the viewer. Similarly the Chinese poet does not seek to dazzle the readers with words and beautiful sayings. The writer in classical Chinese literature seeks to keep words to a minimum and thus expresses the thing with the minimum of intervening symbols.

The poetry of China appears quite simple, so simple that it presents tremendous difficulty for the non-oriental reader. Take for example, the Spring Time View by Tu Fu:

Country broken mountain lake exist
City spring time grass trees deep
Feel then flowers spatter tear
Hate leave bird fear heart.
Gunfire continue three months,
Family letter equivalent ten thousand gold
White head brush more short
Almost unable insert haircomb.

To the Chinese that is enough. The image is there in all its beauty.

It is impertinent to ask what it means.

Translation of the poem into linear English:

> Although the country is already torn and broken
> but the lake and the mountain still exist.
> When it's Spring time in the city, the grass and the trees grow
> more extensively.
> Because the world situation (war) is bad and everyone feels sad,
> even the flowers will also shed their tears.
> I hate that we are going to separate/leave each other,
> even the birds feel some fear too.
> Now after the war, gunfire has continued for three months.
> Once in a while I received a letter from. This letter is so
> valuable and precious that it would equal ten thousand in gold.
> Now I am old.. When I comb my white hair I feel that it is getting
> shorter, making it difficult for me to insert the haircomb.

As one can see in the poem, there are no function words such as articles, prepositions, conjunctions, etc... Each word is a content word that carries a certain meaning.

It also shows the English speaker's dependence on function words and the complete absence of words in Chinese. Thus, students' writings show a similar simplicity and directness of words, and often time leads to vagueness,

> In New York it were many special programs. Especially sails, many sails came from different countries. On that day, many people went there to see the sails.

> After watching a movie I might change my mind again. Because it was a secret agent movie, then I would wish to be a spy. The environment changed me a lot.

[~~The Chinese language uses a minimum number of words to express ideas. This often leads to vagueness in our students' writings.~~] Chinese students use a sort of "telegram style" - too condensed way of writing. Although function words in English are in a way not as important as content words, Chinese students should be taught the reverse. The importance of articles, prepositions, and conjunctions should be emphasized and more practice in these areas should be given. Present to the students contrasting patterns such as,

a. City spring time
   Spring time in the city

b. grass trees deep
   the grass and the trees grow deep

c. Gunfire continue three months
   Gunfire continued for three months

d. mountain lake exist
   the mountains and the lakes still exist

Allow the students time to see the difference and think about the differences.

D. Concrete imagery of the language

Concreteness exists in the nature of the Chinese language itself. The first thing we noticed about ~~the~~ Chinese is the written character. It is a direct representation of that which is being described. Even such supposedly abstract concepts as *sincerity* or *benevolence* are concrete in Chinese. A SINCERE person is a man standing by his words. *Benevolence* is nothing more than the feeling one has when walking with another man. These words are commonly used by Confucius who to the Westerner represents a moral and ethical philosophers But we see here that morality to a Chinese is not the abstract rule following a pattern of action which is normally implied to Westerners. There is a genius in the written character unparalleled in all the world's languages. The Chinese have words such as hsin which once picture the human heart and later came to mean both heart and mind, feeling and intellect. Thinking is the making present of the mind nyan. Forgetfulness is when the mind disappears. The scholar is he who knows what comes between one and ten shr.

√ The vagueness of the spoken word is made concrete in the character. There may be as many characters and concepts as there are actual shades of feeling. The fact is that the Chinese speaker allows the relations between words to be established in the minds of the audience, whereas the English speaker has to make those relations explicit. Also, one should take notice of the concreteness of the Chinese language even in its coinages for the abstract term and therefore its dependence on the process of visualization in the mind of the audience.

In the students' writings, instead of using certain concepts, they would describe the concept as it appears in the language. It is also possible that with the limited vocabulary they possess, they may not even know the specific word that they need. In a description paragraph, students would write "John was a man standing by his words" or use phrases like "man looking up for respect," "I have words" for to speak, "whatever is said is the law" for fate," when the sun is the king" for prosperous, "when the heart is heavy" for to understand, etc.

E. The use of compound words

Chinese also make use of compound words. Two simpler words are combined to form a new idea. Rather than inventing a new class and a new word, two simpler words are combined, thus maintaining a greater clearness and directness. For example,

To be happy is to have high spirits (gausying 高興)
An animal is a moving thing (dung wu 動物)
A zoo is a moving thing courtyard (dung wu yuan 動物園)
A movie is an electric shadow (dyan ying 電影)
A telephone is an electric word (dyan hwa 電話)
Scenenery is the wind view (feng jing 風景)
Comprehending is making clear and bright (mang bai 明白)

An airplane is a flying machine (fei ji 飛机)

A library is a map book hall (tu shu gwan 圖書館)

A department store is a hundred goods store (baihwo dyan 百貨店)

A typewriter is a stmuck word machime (da dz ji 打字机)

Again, here the list is endless.

The problem here seems to occur when students translate literally. Take a good look at the literal translation of these two groups of verb-noun compound:

A. chr- eat group
to take food- chrfan-eat rice
be in distress- chrku- eat bitterness
take medicine- chryau- eat medicine

B. da-hit group
to play ball-da chyou-hit ball
beat a drum- da gu- hit thunder
draw water from a well- da shwei- hit water
cut wood- da tsai- hit wood
quarrel- da jya- hit frame
beat down price - da jya- hit price
play cards- da pai- hit card

More examples,

"WE'll sing together and talk-story."

I think experience of knowledge are the most reliable in human growing.

Our parents are working hard to keep us to go into a peaceful road.

The story is about river pirate and ghost children.

The Chinese language uses a minimum number of words to express ideas. This often leads to vagueness in our student's writing. There should be a more systematic exposure to vocabulary development. Greater attention should be given to words/ phrases that are related or overlapping in meanings. I have included a list of faulty words choices or unnative-like phrases/like using:

give out for offer
occupation for future
hospital for clinic
heart for mind

fall down for collapse
carried out for great
positive for sure
complete for finish
give in for hand in
know for find out
political man for politician
merely for shortly
prevented for delayed
faster for quickly
fit for suit
way fo earn money for way to earn living
wish for hope
point for thing
belong for come from
persons for people/students
meetings for classes
receiving for learning
well for good
organized for planned
get for have
make for prepare
across for along
propose for decide

A systematic presentation of the contexts and situations in which the above words are used is needed for these students. It will take them time, but it is important they see the usage in its context.

F. Lack of Grammar

The other feature of Chinese is its lack of grammar. There is no clear cut distinction between nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The Chinese person does not say, " I am well." He says "I well." The use of the verb to be has puzzled linguists for a long time. How are these two sentences different? I am an American. I am Tall. The problem is non-existent in Chinese. Here we see the adjective is the verb. But there are also nouns which may be used as verbs. Particularly in classical Chimese. In fact any word can be almost anything depending on its word order and context. The Chinese traditionally have never had concepts such as nouns, verbs, etc. The only classifications were those of concrete and abstract words. In classical literature, all necessary grammar is left out. One rarely comes across anything corresponding to a preposition, a conjunction,or even a xxxx pronoun. Chinese verbs are all in one tense. There are no conjugations or declensions of any kind. If anything is to be expressed in a tense, which is rare, this may only be shown by extra words which give the feeling of completeness to the action, continuance, incompleteness, etc. and of course, one may preface the sentence by "In the past" or "In the future", etc.

Examples from students' writings:

Can you imagining what I'll do?

He should do more investigation of what causes that happened.

More wise most parents do want to take care of their children

I feel the tension at the air

Although it is a very serious problem today, there are still have no really solution for this problem.

The information in this article is the product of my first-hand knowledge of both cultures, and is derived from my experience in teaching English to Chinese students here and elsewhere.

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DEFINING CROSS-CULTURAL SITUATIONS: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

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THE LINGUISTIC CODE

Linguists are preoccupied with codes. They assume that all problems which involve language are due to some kind of interference between the patterns of expression in one language versus those of the other (Richards, 1974). This approach to cross-cultural interference is readily apparent in the writings of Charles C. Fries (1945; 1962) and Robert Lado (1957). Both of these scholars have been rather influential in convincing other linguists that when conflicts occur between languages, these conflicts result primarily from differences in language patterns and linguistic codes. As a consequence of this framework, a whole new field of contrastive linguistics arose and dominated the journals of applied linguistics with cogent examples of linguistic misunderstandings which were directly related to problems of encoding or decoding (Moulton, 1963). Furthermore, this framework was extended into language teaching and became the basis for the construction and the evaluation of language textbooks (Dacanay, 1967; Fisiak, 1974).

With the advent of transformational grammar (Chomsky, 1957; 1965), it appeared that a new focus on linguistic interference was inevitable (Saporta, 1966; Temberley, 1961). This transition came about in the form of error analysis (Richards, 1974). Rather than concentrate on the points of contrast between language systems, the new theory of transformational grammar

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provided an interesting alternative. It suggested that language be studied as a process, and that the errors that learners make can be informative in understanding this process (Corder, 1967). These products of language acquisition, then, reflect the underlying strategies (Richards, 1971) which the student of language develops (Selinker, 1974). Although this change from structural contrasts to psycholinguistic processes is informative, it is still based on a preoccupation with linguistic codes. It still adheres to the belief that cross-cultural problems emerge from differences in language patterns.

The fact that linguistic theory is code-oriented may not provoke a concern among contemporary theorists, however, the weakness of this approach becomes apparent when it is investigated within the framework of ethnomethodology (Turner, 1974). It was Harold Garfinkel (1967), for example, who correctly noted that much of human communication does not relate to what is actually said, but to what is inferred from the context of the interaction. This conclusion is based on numerous studies by him and his colleagues and has been verified independently in other language-related fields of research (Faules and Alexander, 1978). What is significant about this line of research is that it provides an alternative model for the study of cross-cultural miscommunication. It argues rather cogently that most of the problems of interference are not due to specific differences in linguistic codes, but to differences in the tacit knowledge of those involved in the speech act. In particular, it states that the assumptions of the speaker in a given situation may or may not be concomitant with the social expectations of the hearer. If no substantial differences occur, then successful communication results.

However, if the discrepancy between the assumptions of one and the expectations of the other are significant, the result is one of distortion and communicative failure.

An interesting example of how miscommunication can result from differences in tacit knowledge can be seen in a cartoon by the Wizard of Id. The scene is one in which a palace guard rushes up to his king in a state of anxeity. In the background one can see a mob approaching the palace. It is a mob of angry peasants armed for warfare with clubs and other forms of improvised tools of aggression. The palace guard rushes in to warn his royalty. He shouts: "Your majesty, your majesty, the peasants are revolting!" The king, is facing away from the window and remains unaware of the tumult among the populace, In a state of regal grace and superiority, he answers matter of factly: "Yes, they certainly are." What this vignette signifies is obvious. The assumption held by the palace guard did not concur with the placid elitist expectation of the king. The communication, in this case, was not based on what was actually utterred, but from what was inferred from that utterance.

The reaction of the linguist to this vignette is predictable. It can be argued, for example, that this is no more than a problem of syntactic ambiguity. At the level of deep structure (Chomsky, 1957), there are two sentences each with its own semantic interpretation (Chomsky, 1965) and its own set of transformational rules which remap these disparate deep structures into the same surface structure.

THE PALACE GUARD

Deep Structure: The peasants are revolting against you

Surface Structure: The peasants are revolting

THE KING

Deep Structure: The peasants are revolting to me

Surface Structure: The peasants are revolting

It can be argued quite convincingly under this framework that these vaque assertions about the assumptions of the speaker and the expectations of the hearer can be handled rather effectively as merely problems of syntactic ambiguity. Futhermore, if it is to be argued that the problem resides on the level of differences in presupposition between the speaker and the hearer, it can also be argued in sophisticated terms that transformational theory can adequately cope with problems of this nature (Heny, 1970; Keenan, 1969; Muraki, 1970; Goodman, 1970). There are no qualms with the complex and sophisticated theoretical framework underlying transformational grammar. It does provide a high level of adequacy for dealing with problems of the representation of formal structures. The problem is one of a different nature. It involves such phenomenological concepts as intent, consciousness, and value. It argues that these aspects of language are important, but have no place within the formal scientific paradigm which currently pervades the linguistic community. It is at this level, then, that the phenomenological nature of language plays a significant role; and, it is at this level of defining the context of the sociolinguistic situation that this essay is concerned with.

A POSITIVISTIC PERSPECTIVE ON SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Sociolinguistics has emerged as a field of investigation that attempts to account for linguistic behavior in its social contexts. It developed rather naturally from the study of dialectology at a time when the focus of study was shifted away from a concern with regional dialects to a discovery of social dialects. With this change is perspective, there has arisen a whole new series of studies which link certain forms of linguistic behavior with its use in a specific situation. Although this change from formal linguistics to sociolinguistics may seem to be a radical innovation in theory, it is not. The same assumptions which underly the transformational model of language still continue to play a major part in current research. These assumptions remain as "incorrigible" postulates (Gasking, 1955). They have emerged over the last two centuries under the rubric of science or positivism (St. Clair, 1978 a; 1978 b).

In order to understand the contemporary preoccupation of linguists with the phenomenon of science, it is necessary to turn to social history for a moment and study the evolution of this concept and its implications for sociolinguistic theory. It is well-known, for example, that during the 19th century, a school of natural science was founded in Paris, France, and headed by the famous Henri de Saint Simon (Markham, 1964). This entrepreneur gathered many of the famous scientists of Europe around him and founded a school which not only advocated the tenets espoused by Frances Bacon in his *Nuova Scienza*, but also proselytized it as the only model of science worthy of emulation (Hayek, 1952). This new school of thought was called *L'école polytechnique* and held the view that the natural science model of physics represented the acme of intellectual development or achievement. One of the scholars who was at Paris with Henri de Saint Simon and who became a spokesman for the group at that time was Auguste Comte (Ferré, 1970). It was Comte who developed an elaborate scheme of epistemology in which the field of physics was represented as the ideal (St. Clair, 1971). All human knowledge, he argued, must pass through three distinct stages of development. The quest for knowldege has its inception in religion and mythology where attempts are made to explain natural phenomena in terms of divine forces. This stage advances, he exaplains, when these forces of divinity are replaced by abstract forces which are attributed to human intervention and reasoning. The final stage of development or positivism occurs when all phenomena are explained in terms of the unchanging laws of nature. Since the discipline of physics provides a natural explanation of human knowledge, Comte considered it to be representative of the highest stage of scientific or positivistic development and held it out as a model for others to follow. The significance of Comte's positivistic philosophy is that it remains today as a covert ideology and underlies all fields of science as a basic postulate (Losee, 1972). However, it is more than a basic postulate, it is what Gasking (1955) calls an incorrigible postulate - one that is never questioned or challenged at all costs. Hence, the dream of positivism which Auguste Comte espoused over a century ago remains as a tacit assumption behind the quest for scientific knowledge. It has come down through the century in only slightly modified form. It can be found, for example, in the underlying philosophy of the Vienna Circle, an influential school of though in Europe which emulated L'ecole polytechnique in Paris, France (Kraft, 1968). These neo-positivists also believed in a unified science based on the quantification of evidence, the verification of procedures and methodology, and a materialistic frame of reference. What they added to the model originally proposed by Auguste Comte was the stipulation that the method of comparison and contrast be consistent with the principles of logic.

The logical positivists (Kraft, 1968) were highly influential and their quest for a unified science spread rapidly during the first quarter of this century. It was concomitant with the behavioristic psychology of Watson (1970), and the linguistic school of structuralism (Pettit, 1975). It is this concern for axioms and postulates that led Leonard Bloomfield (1926), for example, to advocate a neo-positivistic approach to linguistics; and, it is this framework of formalism which led Zellig Harris (1951) to expound on his discovery procedure; and, finally, it is this positivistic trend which explains Noam Chomsky's attempt to make linguistic theory more formal and mathematical (Chomsky, 1957). For each of these schools, there is a tacit assumption that their ideal model of science can be found in the discipline of physics with its concern for methodology, quantification, and verification. The principles outlined by Auguste Comte over a century ago remain. They continue to underly the neo-positivism of contemporary linguistic theory. What is important about this framework for the philosophy of science is that for most linguists this is the only possible framework available. Alternative proposals for a theory of language are considered to be outside the realm of their research interests. Hence, it can be informative to consider one viable alternative to the incorrigible postulate of positivism, viz. the phenomenology of language.

AN EXISTENTIAL APPROACH TO SOCIOLINGUISTICS

At the time when Auguste Comte was espousing his view of positivism as the only viable approach to epistemology, his views were strongly attacked by such humanists as Schleiermacher and Dilthey (Makkreel, 1976) who argued that the positivistic model of physics was inadequate in dealing with the human sciences. The natural science models or Naturwissenschaften, for example, are nomothetic and stress predictability, rule governed behavior, and synchronicity. The human science models or Geisteswissenschaften, on the other hand, were idiographic and has to do with events that are unique, irregular, and historical in nature. A comparison of both systems can be summarized as follows:

Natural Science Model	Human Science Model
Regular events	Unique events
Predictability	Retrodiction
synchronic	Historical orientation
Quantification	Qualification or value
Deterministic	Teleological

This line of argumentation is characteristic of the writings of Wilhelm Dilthey who was not against science per se, but adamantly rejected the attempts by the positivists of his day to reduce all forms of epistemology to a materialistic framework. He argued, for example, that human actions are tant nount to historical documents as they are products of intent which require interpretation or verstehen. It is with the emphasis on interpretation, it should be noted, that the name of Friedrich Schleiermacher and his hermeneutic method takes on an added importance. He agreed with Wilhelm Dilthey that the Aristotelian framework of logic may be adequate for the study of natural phenomena and that a different kind of methodology was needed for an understanding of human phenomena. The former, he argued, dealt with a mode of production whereas the latter has to do with a mode of combinations. In contrast to the inductive procedures of Aristotelian logic he contrasted his heuristic procedure and in contrast to the deductive principles of the nomothetic sciences he presented an alternative architectonic procedure.

Mode of Production	Induction	Heuristic Procedure	Mode of Combinations
	Deduction	Architectonic Procedure	

By way of further contrast, the mode of production involves universals whereas the mode of combinations deals with particulars; and, both induction and deduction have to do with abstract qualities whereas the heuristic and the architectonic procedures relate to concrete qualities.

It would appear that the controversy of epistemological reduction was settled during the middle of the last century, but such is not the case. It continues to resurface as a perennial issue within the philosophy of science. It was, in part, this issue that led Wittgenstein to make a dramatic shift from a positivistic stance in his earlier writings. In 1918, for example, Ludwig Wittgenstein published his first book which he entitled Logische Philosophische Abhandlung and which later in a bilingual translation as Tractatus Logus Philosophicus in 1922. In this work, Wittgenstein assumed a materialistic theory of reference. He argued that language had a structure and that this structure was reflective of the structure of the real world. It was, in essence, a map of reality. As one reads the many publications of Wittgenstein, it becomes obvious that major theoretical changes were coming about in his thinking. In 1949, for example, he published a radically different book on Philosophische Untersuchungen. This work was more phenomenological in character and seriously questioned the feasibility of Aristotelian logic in describing and representing human activities and events. What is significant for linguistic theory in this later work is the concept of family resemblance. In trying to account for what constitutes a language game, Wittgenstein noted that the classification system which he and his fellow neo-positivists inherited from Aristotelian logic was inadequate. There were only two methods of classification provided by logic. One could either classify objects as being in the same group because of a unique quality which each and every element possessed or one could merely enumerate the members of a class in an ad hoc manner. Neither method was satisfactory to Wittgenstein. As a consequence, he devised his own method of classification which he called the family resemblance model. The way in which this model works is readily understandable. Consider, for example, the picture of a family portrait. What makes these individuals belong to the same group? Do they all share some unique feature or phenotype which allows one to classify them as belonging to the same family? Would any ad hoc group who are assembled before a photographer for a portrait constitute a family by definition or by enumeration? The answer to either of these questions is emphatically in the negative. Yet, these individuals are members of the same family. Wittgenstein noted that what made this group of individuals into a family was their shared resemblance. One member of the family, for example, may share certain facial characteristics with othen members of the family. These shared characteristics, he notes, were not shared by all, but they did provide an overlapping pattern of affiliation. The argument about family resemblance is important because it again points out discontent among scholars of the positivistic assumption that all models of knowledge can be reduced to the natural science mode of production.

More recently, another counter-attack on positivism has been launched by ethnomethodologists. Howard Garfinkel (1967), for example sees the methodology of the social and human sciences as being concerned with different issues than those of the natural sciences. What he offers to the controversy that is new is the clarification that ethnomethodology is not against natural science *in toto*. Hugh Mehan and Houston Wood (1975) add to this concept significantly but noting, in particular, that the Aristotelian laws of the excluded middle and identity are efficacious within the natural sciences, but that their status is rather equivocal within the framework of the human sciences. The law of the excluded middle separates entities into major classes as the first operation of logical division. The law of identity stipulates that once a class has been defined that it cannot be overlap or merge with the class it contrasts or opposes it. Mehan and Wood (1975) find these Aristotelian laws to be inadequate because in their attempt to apply positivistic methodology to the social sciences, they have been forced to distort the data and their findings. Social events, they argue, are not networks of caused events. In the rhetoric of a legal proceeding where lawyers have been trained in syllogistic reasoning, this may well be a natural mode of discourse, but in normal everyday human interaction such is not the case. Everyday objects do not display constant and stable properties and are forever being redefined during the course of interaction (Cicourel, 1974). Nor are conversations staged in a state of adversity and caution which characterize the language of the court. The law of the excluded middle and the law of identity only function for certain highly specialized contexts of language use, and for linguists to assume that formal linguistic interaction is the norm leads to a highly constrained theory of language with very limited explanatory power. It should be noted that the arguments proposed by Mehan and Wood (1975) under the rubric of ethnomethodology is not new and has been espoused by General Semanticists and by Alfred Korzybski (1933), in particular.

The reason why this approach to sociolinguistics is labelled existential is because it is derived from "existential phenomenology" and reflects a particular perspective within that philosophy. The phenomenological approach to language was espoused by Dilthey when he argued that language is a historical event and belongs to the human sciences. This approach to language was also advocated by Schleiermacher who noted that language requires interpretation. It is also the approach used by Wittgenstein in his attempt to define language games as being related by means of a family resemblance. Finally, it is the approach which Korzybski, and more recently, Mehand and Wood found adequate for their non-Aristotelian perspective on language. However, one of the clearest approaches to existential sociolinguistics can be found in a book by

Stanford Lyman and Marvin Scott (1970) which they have entitled A Sociology of the Absurd. Language, they argue, is a social phenomenon. This is not only because the structure of social relationships is linguistic, but also because people come to interact and understand one another through the medium of language. In their theory of sociolinguistics, they have combined insights from ethnomethodology, labelling theory, and symbolic interactionism. The name for this new rubric of sociolinguistic activities is the sociology of the absurd. In this paper, it will be referred to as existential sociolinguistics (Manning, 1973).

According to Lyman and Scott (1970), the world is essentially without meaning. All systems of belief are convential and arbitrary. As a consequence, the meanings of everyday life must be carved out through symbolic interaction. Meanings must be designated upon objects and events; and,human intentions must be inferred or attributed to others. For those who are within this existential framework and who have been socialized into different roles, there are certain problems which lead to anxiety.and conflict. In this framework, for example, it is assumed that reality is socially constructed (Berger and Luckman, 1966). What is real for one person may not be real to another. Each person has his or her own background of personal experiences which dictate how they approach and define a social context. In addition to differences in social reality, the problem of human interaction is further compounded by the fact that one's access to knowledge is also socially distributed. People live is a stratified world in which their conceptions of what is real are disparate. Even though two persons may be conversing, they do not share the same view of what that conversation is all about. They each fill in their own perspectives and adhere to their own interpretations of the events. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman (1966) have referred to this framework as the sociology of knowledge. They explain how solipsism is reduced through the medium of language. They note, for example, that thoughts are somehow expressed in linguistic form and that at this stage the match between the two systems are not isomorphic. Susbsequently, language takes on a life of its own and becomes a institution which can be verified, quantified, and recorded in the form of linguistic patterns and rule governed behavior. For those who are being socialized into a special sociolinguistic context, this institutionalized form of language provides a socializing agent and influences the thoughts that one may have inferred from the symbolic interaction. This last stage is comparable to what Benjamin L. Whorf and Edward Sapir proposed in their approaches to linguistic relativity. The problems of existential anxiety and conflict occurs when these forms of social reality take on a new level of cognizance. Lyman and Scott (1970) refer to these new levels of awareness as fatalistic and humanistic time tracks. The latter occurs among those who feel that they have a sense of power to transcend their social realities and enlarge the opportunities which life provides. The former, however, occurs among those who know of their state of existence, but who feel incapable to changing their being-in-the-world. Evidently, those who exist in a fatalistic time track define their sociolinguistic contexts differently from those who view the world in humanistic terms. Hence, each defines the contexts with different assumptions and expectations. They may talk with one another in a lengthy conversation, but their understanding of that event is not the same. As Mehan and Wood (1975) noted earlier, the Aristotelian law of the exluded middle and the law of identity does not hold in this situation.

THE NATURE OF LINGUISTIC SOLIDARITY

One more problem remains which necessitates elucidation before the role of cross-cultural conflicts involving language can be adequately discussed. The problem has to do with the intriguing question of how individuals can participate in some contexts as themselves and in other contexts as members of a group. Ferdinand Tönnies (1957) addressed this question in 1987, but it was Emile Durkheim (1933) who wrote about this in 1893 and who is widely quoted for his work *Sur la division du travail social*. He reasoned, for example, that individuals are bound to a community or a society by means of solidarity. He envisioned a natural transition from tribal communities to modern industrial societies in which each end of the spectrum was designated by means of a special form of cohesiveness or solidarity. Among tribal communities, for example, the bond was one of mechanical solidarity in which individuals resembled each other in their social behavior, their common aspirations, the expectations and their values. As one moved away from this highly homogeneous community toward the more heterogeneous and complex modern industrial society, the bonds of solidarity became fragmented. The values of the group were no longer shared by all of its members. They did not hold the same things sacrosanct. They differed in their expectations and varied in their social behavior. Their form of solidarity was organic (Durkheim, 1933).

FORMS OF SOLIDARITY

Mechanical Solidarity	Organic Solidarity
Simple	Complex
Tribal	Industrial
Holistic	Fragmented
Primitive	Civilized
Gemeinschaft/Community	Gesellschaft/Society

Peter Berger has dealt with each of these forms of solidarity in his sociological treatises. In The Sacred Canopy (Berger, 1976), for example, he describes the solidarity which pervades a religious community in terms of their shared values, patterns of linguistic expression, common expectations, and forms of social action. In The Homeless Mind (Berger, Berger and Kellner, 1974), he discusses the concept of organic solidarity and demonstrates how the modern person is fragmented with a multiplicity of social realities and a host of conflicting patterns of social interaction. However, in contrast to Durkheim and other 19th century sociologists, he does not impose an evolutionary scale upon these two contrasting models of social solidarity. Instead, he argues that a model industrial society is composed of a complex of individual communities which overlap on some points of interest and contrast on others. His model of solidarity is reminiscent of Wittgenstein's concept of family resemblance and has an anologue in linguistic theory in the form of the speech chain (Quackenbush, 1970; St. Clair, 1974 a; 1974 b).

It is interesting to note that the contrast between the various forms of solidarity only to sociologists. At present, linguists remain unconcerned by this question. This situation is particularly deplorable among sociolinguists who are operating with a Geminschaft model of mechanical and are unaware of how this state of affairs came about or just what the implications of this course of action involve with regard to questions of linguistic diversity. The current linguistic model, it should be pointed out, arose out of the positivistic tradition of the 19th century. Emile Durkheim, the famous sociologist, was raised in the tradition of positivism which Auguste Comte promulgated at that time. Hence, he shared the common belief of that school of thought that if sociology is to become a science it must emulate the postulates of the natural sciences and the nomothetic approach of the discipline of physics, in particular. As a consequence of this positivistic belief, Emile Durkheim developed the concept of a social fact to parallel the physical facts of the natural sciences which could be discerned by an observer, would reside outside of the individual, and could exercize constraint on hyman behavior. This concern for social facts was of particular interest to Ferdinand de Saussure and led to his dichotomy of langue versus parole (Doroszewski, 1933). The latter dealt with speech as an individual phenomenon and is contrasted with langue which is social in nature and which resides outside of the individual as a social fact. Another concept which Ferdinand de Saussure borrowed from Emile Durkheim was that of the "collective consciousness." In a homogeneous community where the social values and beliefs prevail and are held in common by each and every individual, there exists a collective consciousness (Durkheim, 1933). Saussure assumed that parole also exists in each and every individual and that it could be characterized in terms of a collective competence. It is this same belief that has led Noam Chomsky (1965) to associate linguistic competence with a homogeneous speech community in which there is no difference between the speaker or the hearer. It is this same belief that has led to the formation of the dependency principle in dialectology (St. Clair, 1974.b). And, it is this same belief in a collective competence which has led to a positivistic approach to sociolinguistic research (Labov, 1964).

Durkheim	Saussure	Chomsky
collective consciousness	langue	competence
social facts	the lexicon	substantive universals
nomothetic approach	languge systems	formal universals
Gemeinschaft model	langue	homogeneous speech community

Although the concept of a collective competence can be traced back to its prototype in the works of Ferdinand de Saussure and Emile Durkheim, it must be argued that such a model of language fails in that it cannot account for numerous facts about linguistic diversity. Language resembles the system of organic solidarity which Tönnies and Durkheim advocated as viable alternatives to homogeneous communities. As a matter of fact, the parallel can be drawn between the relationship between languages and dialects and the nature of solidarity relationships within a modern industrial society. Both are complex, multi-faceted, and highly fragmented.

Organic Solidarity	Dialectal Relationships
Complex network of interrelationships	Complex relationships along a speech chain.
Fragmented communities	Fragmented dialectal contexts involved in code switching
Gesellschaft model	Independency principle holds
Some mutual interaction	Some mutual comprehension
Some unidirectional interaction	Some unidirectional comprehension
Some potential interaction	Some latent communication

ON DEFINING THE SITUATION

Long before American sociolinguists were aware of such phenomenon as code-switching, the British linguists were attempting to define the concept of "the context of the situation." It was an idea that grew directly out of the work of Bronislaw Malinowski (Firth, 1968) who had argued that formal criteria are not adequate in grammatical analysis and must be supplemented by means of a semantic theory which takes reference into consideration. However, the idea was gradually abstracted and refined by Firth into a classificational scheme of registers of speech (Langendoen, 1968). Recently, this same concern for the social context of language interaction has been addressed by symbolic interactionists (Bloomer, 1969). Hence, it would be informative to consider this particular perspective.of the Chicago school of Symbolic Interactionism of social psychology and draw on the various implications which it has to offer sociolinguistic theory.

John Hewitt (1976) has noted that when two strangers approach each other, they first define the context of the situation. This is usually done in global terms at first, but it eventually leads to further interaction and some self-disclosure (Berger, in press). The intricacies of defining a situation depends on one's personal biography of experiences, the patterns of strategic interaction within one's repertoire of socialization, and the relationships of power and solidarity all play a role in interpersonal assessment (McCall and Simmons, 1966). But, the problem is even more complex and dynamic, when the phenomenon of emergence is taken into consideration (Lauer and Handel, 1977). When two people encounter each other in a face-to-face interaction, they first define each other and arrive at certain assumptions and expectations about what will occur during the dialogue. However, once a conversation begins, the assessments have to be changed and modified in accordance with new information and the failure of their previous assessments. Eventually, a new level of consensus is reached, but it differs in many ways from the original definitions of the situation. This Hegelian form of interaction is commonplace in language and fails to be recognized in the linguistic literature because the current theory is preoccupied with the formalization of sentential structures rather than the dynamics of discourse. It is only in such language-related disciplines as rhetoric and ethnomethodology that the phenomenon of emergence is seriously taken into account as a theoretical construct. As Charles Berger (in press) has noted, symbolic interaction requires one to draw inferences and predict the outcome. In this sense, symbolic interaction takes cognizance of the importance of decision theory. However, it is not interested in the total outcome of the various mathematical possibilities for interaction. It recognizes, for example, that many possible systems in a mathematical framework are impossible when viewed from the perspective of the society in which the individuals are interacting. Hence, the way in which a given situation is defined is constrained not by its formal characteristics, but by its social patterns of interaction.

As mentioned earlier in this essay, linguistic theory can incorporate some of these findings from the social and psychological contexts of language. It can represent the various assumptions and expectations which are employed in defining a situation by means of underlying presuppositions. However, these presuppositions are subject to social constraints as defined by idiographic factors. In a court of law, for example, the tradition of rhetoric and syllogistic reasoning prevails. The participants have been trained to respond within this rigid framework of interaction. However, when the focus of the discourse shifts away from the formal mode, and this can happen in the midst of a legal proceeding, then the rigid framework with its reliance on the Aristotelian laws of identity and the excluded middle fails. For this brief instance, the context of the situation has been defined in radically different terms. A new form of logic has emerged and imposed itself upon the participants. Unfortunately, linguistic theory has no formal means of accounting for these dynamic forms of symbolic interaction. Furthermore, when semantic interpretation is discussed in the linguistic literature (Chomsky, 1965), the level of meaning which linguistic theory represents is rather superficial. It only begins to account for human information processing in cognitive terms and it completely overlooks the nature of affective information. Hence, the phenomenological approach to social psychology, i.e., symbolic interactionism, not only complements the poverty in linguistic semantics, it also accounts for language use in a greater range of social contexts. In this sense, it is concomitant with the program of existential sociolinguistics outlined earlier in this essay.

One of the common reactions against symbolic interactionism and other phenomenological approaches to language is that they cannot account for data in positivistic terms. This charge has been met by existential sociolinguists and it has been proven to be unwarranted. In the first place, the question of methodology is a non-issue. Aaron Cicourel (1964) has noted, the problem in sociological research is not one of methodology. There is an abundance of sophisticated methodological procedures. The problem, then, is one of matching the theory with its testing instruments. The disparity between what a theory purports and what it actuallymeasures is enormous. In order to clarify just what this means in concrete terms, Cicourel and his associates (1974) followed up a whole battery of standardized examinations on the elementary school level with videotapes and in-depth interviews. The results were surprising! The quantification of the data did not reflect what the children actually did when they took tests. Some answered the question correctly from the point of view of the adult test maker, but the rationale was incongruous. Others hit upon the correct answer by mere happenstance; and, most of the children arrived at answers which they viewed as being completely coherent and rationale from their own perspective. The second line of attact on existential sociolinguistics is that it deals with such non-positivistic concepts as consciousness, intent, value, purpose, and interpretation. There is a whole tradition which counters this line of attack and it can be found in the writings of Wilhelm Dilthey in the 19th century to Hugh Mehan and Houston Wood in the 20th century. Obviously, the positivistic approach is based on a philosophy of materialism which restricts its search for knowledge to mere quantification and formalization. In the human sciences, this restricted form of epistemological reduction distorts and delimits the larger questions of interaction through the medium of language. Hence, the existential sociologists want to expand the nature of the data to include these phenomenological factors. They want to minimize the discrepancy between theory and methodology by having questions of intent, value, and consciousness incorporated into their instruments of evaluation. Finally, there is the question of evidence. Is there enough evidence about how one defines a social context and draws inferences upon which to plan their social action? The answer is definitely affirmative. In the study of speech in the courtroom, for example, Allan Lind and William O'Barr (in press) have noted how lawyers interrogate the witnesses and how these tactics influence the jury. When the witness is representing the opposition, the lawyer must insistent on fragmented and incoherent responses as this will give the jury the impression that the witness is incompetent. However, when the witness is working on his or her behalf, the lawyer allows the dialogue to go on for a longer period of time with much elaboration and elucidation. This tactic creates in the jury an impression of competence for both the lawyer and the witness on his or her behalf. There are other similar documented cases of the study of language across social and psychological contexts (St. Clair, forthcoming). Rudolf Kalin and Donald Rayko (forthcoming) have noted how a personnel manager defines the context of the situation during a job interview; and, Guy Fielding and Chris Evered (forthcoming) have studied similar interaction between a medical doctor and his or her patient. In the area of non-verbal communication, Walburga von Raffler-Engel (forthcoming) has described how such assessment takes place. She notes in her article, and this is important, that the dichotomy between verbal and non-verbal behavior leads to a distortion of the description of face-to-face interaction. A cogent example of this can be found in a study of social distance (St. Clair, 1977) where it is argued that both parameters are constantly interacting. Since linguistic theory is deeply inbued with only the verbal aspects of communication (St. Clair, forthcoming), it fails to provide an adequate description of the complex nature of the context of the situation.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE: A REASSESSMENT

The study of culture grew out of the interests of the European leisure class (Langness, 1974). As a consequence it is imbued with a form of elitism. The earliest studies of culture, for example, were attempts to impose a scale of evolutionary values in which those with culture were characterized by the aristocracy of Britain, Germany, and France, and those which did not were considered to be primitive and lacking in cognitive and social abilities. This form of elitism can still be found, in part, in the study of culture in foreign language classrooms (Nostrand, 1966). Hence, the treatment of culture as a means of creating social distance between the aristocracy and the masses (Lumpenproletariat) still exists within the literature of social anthropology (Hays, 1958). Evidently, this is not the approach to culture advocated in this essay on defining cross-cultural conflicts within the context of the situation. However, this elitist point of view should be held in mind because it will resurface in the study of power and the sociology of language.

Another approach to the study of culture comes from the anthropologists who are interested in collecting and labelling the material possessions of others who live far away in exotic countries (Hays, 1958). This concern for material things is an outgrowth of the positivism of Auguste Comte and his colleagues at L'ecole polytechnique in Paris. The inadequacies of this approach have been pointed out in the literature (Kitahara, 1977). In essence, it only deals with the products of human intervention and does not even begin to exam the intent behind such social products. Cultural materialism, then, points out the need for a more idealistic framework(Langness, 1974). Once again, it should be obvious that this is not the concept of culture that would fit into a phenomenological approach to the study of humanity.

With the advent of cultural idealism, the study of culture begins to take on an interesting frame of reference. It is in this context that the noted names of Ruth Benedict (1934), Margaret Mead (1939), and Edward Sapir (1924) begin to emerge; and, it is in this context that the study of such topics as pscyhological anthropology, structuralism, ethnoscience, and symbolic anthropology mark the arrival of a new paradigm of phenomenological research. Although the approach to culture espoused in this essay differs in many regards with the school of cultural idealism, it does rely on the foundations of earlier studies on culture and personality, cultural configurations, cultural relativism, maintenance systems, and the ethnography of communication. The difference, then, has to do with the social construction of reality and processes of political socialization.

Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman (1966) have proposed a coherent theory on the sociology of knowledge within the framework of phenomenological sociolinguistics. The not only argue that social reality is constructed in accordance with a multiplicity of contexts, situations, and roles, but they also note that one's knowledge of society is socially distributed. The explain how people who share a community of interests unite and form special groups and that when these groups obtain political power they take two characteristic forms of social action. Because their view of social reality is threatened, they note, the group in power goes through a series of public rituals or private rites in which they confirm their value system to each other. In addition to this form of reality confirmation, the group attempts to establish barriers so as to create a greater social distance between themselves and the outsiders. This act of reality maintenance takes on very particular forms with regard to language planning (St. Clair, 1978 a). Those in power define others as deviant or deficit (Becker, 1973). In addition to this act of institutional labelling, the power structure imposes its own forms of social reality upon others through the process of political socialization (Dawson, Prewitt, Dawson, 1977). For example, it only permits its own interpretations of history and social reality to be the legitimate one. It establishes a pattern of accommodation in which such concepts as time and space have been reworked in accordance with the goals and aspirations of those in power. This imposition of power is evident in American social history and can be documented time and time again. The Eskimos, for example, would eat when they were hungry and go to bed when they were tired. Once they accepted the ideology of the power group, they found themselves eating three meals a day whether they were hungry or not and they found themselves going to bed at a regular time whether they were tired or not. The American Indians of the Northwest provide another cogent example of how those in power redefine social existence. They viewed the land as belonging to no one. It was an open space in which all would pass through or settle from time to time, but in no way would they even consider it to be the property of any mortal. Then, along came the new conquering ideology steeped in social Darwinism (Hofstadter, 1955) who deemed the land to be their personal possession.

What is interesting about the theory of culture which Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman (1966) propose is that it has some interesting parallels with sociolinguistics. Consider, for example, how language is viewed as no more than the official dialect of a nation, and how this dialect is intrinsically related to the speech of those in power, and how as different groups gain access to power they become part of the official system. The same situation occurs with regard to culture. It is no more than one of the many forms of social reality found within a nation. It is related to the establishment of power; and, as the group in power is influenced by other political groups, their mores become an official part of the system. Culture, then, in this framework is related to the elite power structure. It exists as a part of the common knowledge of a nation through the numerous processes of political socialization. With the passage of time, the official social reality or culture changes and grows, but its change and its development is concomitant with its social history. As an institution, culture represents the official products which are held in value by those in power. It is comparable, in this regard, to the dictionary in which the lexical forms exist as a product of human intent, consciousness, and value. Only the highly trained lexicographer may be aware of the millions of words in the lexicon, their roots, their etymologies, and their meanings. Similarly, only the highly trained student of the socio-political and historical facets of a nation is able to relate to its culture. From the point of view of the speakers of a particular language who live in a particular culture, these vast details remain unknown. Their knowledge is restricted and socially distributed. They only have cognizance of the legitimate knowledge provided them by the schools, mass media, and everyday living. Hence, the parallels between language and culture merit further investigation.

LANGUAGE	CULTURE
Official dialect of a nation	Official social reality of a nation
Official history of the language	Official socio-political history of the nation
Instrument of the power structure	Instrument of the power structure and basis for political socialization
The lexicon represents the official store of knowledge	History represents the official program of knowledge.
Non-standard dialects are deemed to be deviant	Sub-cultures or other forms of reality are labelled as deviant
Focus of linguistic change	Focus of social change
Model for accommodation	Model for assimilation

CROSS-CULTURAL CONFLICTS: JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

Given the complexity of a social system, its history of struggle for power, and the richness of its linguistic forms of expression, it is now time to seriously consider the question of cross-cultural conflicts. As a case in point, it would be informative to limit the discussion to the study of Japan and the United States, and the kinds of concrete forms of interaction which could result when there is face-to-face interaction between these countries and their representatives. Just how, for example, would they define the context of the situation? What kinds of assumptions and expectations do they have about each other? What role does language play in this interaction? How do their differences in consciousness, their values, and their goals surface in their verbal and non-verbal behaviors? Given the cultural idealism approach to social reality, these are the kinds of questions that should be asked. However, it should be reiterated that the study of a culture is not to be equated with the socially protected aristocracy or the material products which emerge from one's patterns of existence. The focus should always be on how social reality is constructed for the individuals in question; and, how this focus relates to the official culture which provides the reference marker for social interaction.

There are many books on Japanese culture. Some reflect the philosophy of cultural materialism and attempt to provide an ad hoc assemblage of curiousities from the point of view of the visiting American (Chamberlain, 1902). Other publications provide a social perspective and deal with such subjects as social distance (Tiedemann, 1974; Ishida, 1974; Benedict, 1946), the system of honorifics as reflected within the language of Japan (Tiedemann, 1974; Chamberlain, 1902; Hall and Beardsley, 1965), the effects of social change on language and consciousness (Hall and Beardsley, 1965; Reischauer, 1977; Harrison, 1972: Smith and Beardsley, 1962) and questions of solidarity in everyday interaction (Ishida, 1974. However, what do all of these aspects of culture mean with regard to the foreign student from Japan who comes to study in the United States? What do all of these cultural facets mean for the student or the businessman from the United States who goes to Japan? When the question is framed in these particular terms, it provides valuable insights into how people define a socialinguistic context across cultures.

Consider the plight of the businessman who must transact business across cultures (Okada and Okada, 1973). For the American businessman, the situation may be defined in terms of the American business ethic of social Darwinisim (Hofstadter, 1955). This tradition grew out of the philosophy of Herbert Spencer (1969) during the turn of the century. It was based on the Darwinian assumption that human beings are in a competitive struggle for superiority and social survival. During the period of the robber barons and the industrial revolution, this philosophy was personally espoused by such noted capitalists as the Carnegies and the Rockefellers. It became their philosophy of social action which allowed them to justify their economic advantage over their competitors (Hofstadter, 1955). At present, this ideology has assumed the status of everyday knowledge. It is found to be operative in the metaphor of the language (Pollio, Barlow, Fine, and Pollio, 1977), and provides a tacit justification for such commercially oriented programs as Junior Achievement (Dawson, Prewitt, Dawson, 1977). These facts about social Darwinism are important because it is part of the set of assumptions that the American businessman will hold when defining the social interaction with his Japanese counterpart. Along with this ideological framework, the American will approach the situation with other assumptions about how one behaves in public. He will tend to joke, display carelessness about certain aspects of life which are not of interest to him commercially, and will profess an ignorance about the socio-political history of his host's nation (Kato, 1959). The Japanese businessman will also be commercially oriented, but he will have a different set of assumptions about how a business is to be transacted. His familiarity with the concepts of Herbert Spencer may differ substantially (Harrison, 1972) and may be related to the popular ethic of shingaku which was established during the Tokugawa period when the masses were politically socialized to place service above one's self in order that they may remain unselfish and faithful to their assigned works (Minami, 1971). Furthermore, he may profess a form of ethnic solidarity which is different from that of his American counterpart (Ishida, 1974). What is signficant about these cultural differences is that each represents a framework or a reference upon which social interaction is defined. The American businessman will look toward his patterns of socialization and draw certain predictable inferences about how the transaction is supposed to be carried out. Similarly, the Japanese businessman will look upon his own traditions and draw a different set of inferences about the nature of the interaction. Although both businessmen may be speaking the same language, they are, nevertheless, living and thinking in different social realities. Hence, it is not language which is the culprit, but differences in how people define the context of the sociolinguistic situation.

The reason why phenomenology is given precedence over positivism in this essay should now be readily understood. The positivistic tradition of linguistic analysis is only concerned with matters of form and quantification. The existential framework, on the other hand, not only deals with these questions, but it also brings into play such concepts as the intention of the speaker, the consciousness or awareness of the sociolinguistic context, the conflict of values, social history, questions of ideology, and patterns of personal interaction. It can be argued, within this framework of phenomenology, that two persons can have the same surface structure patterns, but differ in how they process those structures and how they represent them in psycholinguistic terms. It is because of these diversity at the level of deep structures, then, the the independency principle of cognitive psychology is invoked (St. Clair, 1974 a; 1974 b). And, it is because of these differences of focus and interaction at the deep structure level that a social and psychological context of language study provides a more promising paradigm for research and analysis (St. Clair, forthcoming).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

There are many assumptions associated with this essay on cross-cultural conflicts which merit recapitulation. First, it is assumed that problems of cross-cultural interference are not all related to discrepancies and mismatches between linguistic codes. Hence, the work which linguists have provided in the areas of contrastive analysis, and error analysis meet with rather severe limitations when viewed within the larger framework of symbolic interaction. Second, The positivistic tradition in linguistics may provide insights for certain aspects of linguistic study such as formal linguistics and neurolinguistics, but it is inadequate for dealing with problems of a bilingual and bicultural nature. The problems which exist at this level have to do with conflicts of values across language and these conflicts may arise from differences in patterns of socialization within the same language as well as across different linguistic systems. Third, the concept of a completely homogeneous superstructure of linguistic competence is non-existent. The nature of linguistic relationships are far more heterogeneous than most scholars would like to admit to. In this regard, the research done by sociologists with regard to the division of labor in society can be informative. The contrast between a language community and a language society, then, merits further investigation because linguists have been operating on the theoretical assumption that the former exists whereas, in reality, it is the latter which can be found to occur. Hence, the various problems of trying to cope with linguistic diversity Fourth, in dealing with the concept of culture, it has been argued that the elitist framework of culture espoused by some foreign language teachers and the cultural materialism advocated by some cultural anthropologists are both inadequate In its place, a system of cultural idealism is proposed in which matters of both social and psychological importance are discussed. Fifth, a parallel can be drawn between the role that an official dialect plays in a society and an official ideology provides for a nation. Both represent an establishment base and both are agents of secondary socialization in which the values of the politically powerful class are legitimized and inculcated. Sixth, All of these differences in socialization provide the basis upon which linguistic inferences are drawn in the course of interpersonal encounters. Since language interaction exists at a level of what one infers rather than what one actually says, these tacit assumptions play a major role in defining the context of a situation. Finally, it can be argued that social psychology, and the Chicago school of Symbolic Interactionism in particular, has a rich tradition in which language plays a significant role. Hence, a social and psychological approach to language in cross-cultural situations is imperative. It is only within this new paradigm can greater explanatory power be enhanced and sophisticated questions of semantic interpretation and understanding can be reached.

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Shifting Questions, Partial Answers and the Teaching of English to Asians

by Daniel P. Hendrickson

This paper attempts to trace the relationship of American linguistics (recent decades) to English As A Second Language before, during, and after revolutionary-like changes in linguistics. Its thesis is that the particular theoretical bent of the dominant mind in American linguistics offered answers to an understanding of language and language learning that were doubly partial: partial answers to the reality being investigated, and partial to the theoretical foundation that spawned them. Insight into problems of language learning was a function of the degree of knowledge such question-asking could provide in terms of answers. Onesided misrepresentation accompanied enlightenment to the extent that important answers to language learning problems were not available within the limits imposed by questions informed by the theoretical stance of the linguist. Inability to deal with certain significant language phenomena adequately within the confines of the then-perspective in science contributed to change of revolutionary proportion. This happened at least twice (though not on the same scale) since the era of the structuralist. Each time, new doors were opened to question asking/answer finding that were more-or-less theoretically closed by the 'predecessor'. The writer stays close to his own experience, but the literature in both linguistics and ESL supports this link between linguistic consensus and ESL practice.

Illustrations of the phenomena that were experienced by many follow. The structuralist stance in inductively generalized observations resulted in his isolating signals traceable to the observable surface of language - signals that would not only identify structures but in their use and arrangement would differentiate one structure from another. Practices in ESL reflected the linguists' concern with word order and other overt signals of language. Sentences were kept apart similarly for our ESL students. Bilingual contrasts identified problem areas that were pinfield during my graduate education. Questions asked of language included: What is it in the sound that identifies its nature? What is it in the observable sequence of events and in the way these arrange themselves - that tells us what role they play in structuring sentences (grammar)? Uncovered were the "devices that signal structural meaning." (C. Fries). Besides word order and intonation, affixes and content-free(?) function words (redefined as such from their former status as prepositions, articles, auxiliaries, interjections, etc.) helped identify the grammatical structure of the sentence. These 'devices' were also seen to be used differently by differing structures and as such became crucial to contrasting one structure from another. Observations were made on how intonation differentiated structures, how word order could do so, how the inclusion of a function word in one place rather than another helped redefine the form class of words, etc. Observed were opposite positions for subject and object between active and passive sentences, with the inclusion of an auxiliary verb and perhaps the function word 'by' in the latter. In other words, items and arrangements of items would determine grammar. To say that active and passive are rule related paraphrases of one another - a realization brought into consciousness by traditional grammar textbooks in a nonrigorous manner - would have to await the Chomskyan revolution to be reintroduced and formalized. To the structuralist such abstract, non-observable relationships belonged to a mentalism that science as they conceived it could not tolerate. To Chomsky such underlying rule-governed relationships needed recognition and formalization to explain the functioning of language; any science incapable of accounting for such matters was regarded by the revolutionaries as impoverished.

But let us return to the structuralist with his attention to the observable surface features of language in order to see what legacy in answers to problems of language learning their limited questions provided. For learning a language these 'findings' meant ready alliance with those advocating the aural-oral approach. A form of behaviorism - different responses to different stimuli - characterized this joint appeal. Language learning would proceed according to principles dictated by this paradigm. Among these were: that language is aural-oral, that languages are structured uniquely, that writing is based on speech, that because of this listening and speaking should precede reading and writing, that language learning is habit formation, and that repetition is a key to language learning.[1] Moreover, the linguist not only transferred to the language teacher his attention to surface difference within a language, but also bequeathed a similarly motivated emphasis on contrast between languages. These differences, in turn, appeared to show up continually in the speech and writing of those learning a second language. Hence, for many, comparing languages through contrastive analysis of their phonological and grammatical structures could predict points of difference that were likely to cause problems for the learner. Contrasts were drilled wherever the target language contained two sounds while the native language revealed only one of them. Minimally contrastive words like: liver/river, alive/arrive, flee/free would be used to teach Far Easterners the contrast between 'l' and 'r'. Bilingual comparisons revealing trouble spots in the grammar could be pinpointed and pattern practiced.

John was there last night /yesterday .

Structures were continually seen and drilled for the observable givens that identified them and/or kept them apart; never - as I remember it - for the more abstract relationships that would bring them together. Such answers were not available because such questions were not asked. But the partial answers that gave us the aforementioned emphasis and the exercises and drills that flowed from it brought some positive results inspite of their limitations. Over a period of several years, this writer experienced the improvement of many students exposed to these methods. But success was limited! As practitioners who needed to get a job done, we were often all too uncritical of how partial we were to these partial answers. We tended to be oblivious to the restrictions on the questions asked by a limited stance in science. However, sometimes then-ignored questions seemed to force their way into our consciousness, only to disappear for lack of support from the 'authorities'. These included questions like: How important are minimal pair drills for contrastive phonemes whose functional yield is minimal? How important are words contrasting 'l' and 'r' for the Oriental when these words are put back into the stream of speech where redundancy is allowed to play its part? What if the contrasted words cannot even occur in the same language environment because they are different in their grammar or incompatible in terms of semantic context? But neither did the author(s) of the pronunciation exercises that evolved from the linguists limited 'findings' address these questions. I have known "followers of the party line" to suggest that when the abstracted bit is put back into a place from which it could have been abstracted, problems would ensue that are illustrated by the isolated contrast. Thus, after having students drill on the contrast between open and closed syllables because their language has none of the closed variety, one author suggests that such exercises are important since otherwise the student might say "She's wearing a cue dress" for "She's wearing a cute dress" thereby confusing the listener. The fact that 'cute' rather than 'cue' is a common description of dresses, that a foreign speaker is talking, and that other redundant factors may favor the immediate understanding of 'cue' as 'cute' is here forgotten. Note how the same sentence is practically fool-proof as a rendition of what was intended when one includes the word 'very' before 'cue': "She's wearing a very cue dress." Of course, if for any phonetically similar pair of sounds all other things are equal - which is seldom true - momentary confusion can result.* However, when we combine the rarity of this situation with its (in)significance, little is left to talk about. On the other hand, reassessment of the matter is in order when we consider the psychological dimension. Questions that come to mind from this perspective are: can a foreign accent be confusing simply because of resistance to taking the trouble to adjust to the speakers way of speaking? How much resistance to accent results from unconscious prejudice brought on by unfavorable stereotyping of the people represented by the speaker? These questions are not often addressed but evidence at this point might well determine the extent to which we should encourage the student to gain as much precision in the production of contrastive sound units as possible. Besides, too much imposition of native language intonation can quite easily confuse, while accompanying individual sound replacements may contribute to the confusion. So, while contrastive analysis provides partial answers to interference problems for learners of a new language, it does not tell us if or under what circumstances, a cure is necessary. The communicative value of having foreign students differentiate phonetically similar pairs of sounds appears doubtful in the face of what we may call redundancy. Such observations were seldom made in an era when the interrelationships of language systems was an unpopular notion. Moreover, to examine the issue in terms of the social and psychological consequences of speech acts was then considered out of range. Language was very much a self-contained system, itself comprising subsystems: phonological, syntactic, semantic - each having a more-or-less autonomous nature. Where there were no questions, there were no answers.

Both in the United States and abroad (especially abroad) one could find counter examples to these restrictions on inquiry and their consequences for the language classroom. But for scores of us, teaching English as a Second Language meant following the dictates of the prevailing science of language. The link between linguistic precept and classroom organization and approach was real: Languages are different stressed the linguist, and he was partially right ('superficially right' said the later revolutionaries); so 'right' was he that I found myself on several occasions to be faced with a whole class of Japanese students for the sole purpose of teaching pronunciation. In other words, phonology was as separable from the other language systems as Japanese was different from all other languages. In addition, because errors were primarily seen as due to interlingual interference, we would drill on sounds that contrasted in English but not in Japanese. Textbook and test were constructed for just that purpose: lot/rot, lesion/legion, slow/ so low, hollow/follow, boat/bought, etc. Such ethnic and phonological isolationism was reflective of the linguist's presuppositions, his questions and his answers. These partial (double meaning) answers selected the form and the content of the class. Other classes were similarly divided in ways reminiscent of the separation of levels by the linguistic scientist, though convenience may also have been a controlling factor. Some relief from language conceived of as a self-contained system was suggested by pictures used in both vocabulary lessons and pattern practice exercises. However, these pattern drills combined the structuralists' surface feature attention to word placement with the pre-Chomskyan notion of language learning as habit formation. Pattern practice was supposed to help stamp in grammatical patterns that would then transfer to everyday situations.

Students did learn - they learned, overlearned, didn't learn, were bored, wasted time or did whatever this partial appeal would do for them. The claim has even been made that the degree of success that can be attributed to such exercises (and success there was!) took place inspite of the underlying theory of the linguist and the learning theorist. According to this claim, cognitive reorganization of universal rules occurs in the learner as the drills transpired. After this 'aha' experience, continuing the exercise becomes a waste of time. To this extent, it is maintained, the student learns through processes that are contrary to those assumed by the method being employed. Be that as it may, pattern practices are today generally either used sparingly, only in the context of situation, or not at all.

Bounded by the directive for classroom activity imposed by the linguist's restricted 'findings', insight and learning took place for the teacher and for the student; removed from questions and answers related to various contexts - linguistic and extralinguistic - insight was accompanied by distortion...gross distortion whenever the importance of the pieces that received our attention was exaggerated.

The testing program also reflected the linguist's attention to discreet points. 'Discreet Point Test' is the designation now given such tests. On these, sounds are tested separate from grammar, grammar separate from vocabulary (though admittedly employing vocabulary), vocabulary separate from much context, etc. Several of these tests are still being used although attempt is being made to extend the context of items to reflect the more integrative emphasis of present-day scholars. To accommodate this latter concern, cloze procedure tests are becoming popular. With this test we are not concerned with the student's ability to separate parameters that have been found to be more integrative than any attempt to separate them would warrant. Whether or not student's can fill in blanks in longer-than-sentence discourse using all the clues that the various language systems (letters, words, affixes, syntax, meaning relationships, etc.) can supply is here regarded a better measure of control over the target language.

By way of contrast, we have hinted at major shifts in question asking. Revolutionary change occurred with the advent of Noam Chomsky and his Transformational-Generative grammar. Chomsky found language to be incapable of explanation within the strictures imposed by the structuralist and their limited appeal in science. He did not simply criticize the modern linguist for being taxonomic, surface feature oriented, etc.; he insisted that the science of language itself must be changed. From its inductive, empiricist base, the empirical evidence would force it to move. What could be observed could not be inductively generalized by staying as close to observation statements as had been attempted. There were no valid discovery procedures. Classification of items in a sentence could never deal effectively with ambiguity or the ability that human beings have of creating one novel sentence after another within a finite set of rules. All this came alive with Chomsky! A deductive theory which posited an abstract underlying level of language was claimed necessary to explain ambiguity and the reoccurence of structures (recursiveness). Deep structures would be converted to surface structures through transformational rules. While all non-basic structures were transforms, those among these that were structurally ambiguous in their surface manifestation were disambiguated by these rules (cf. flying airplanes can be dangerous). Universals identified languages. Differences - formerly so much in the foreground - were now seen as superficial. The science of language would go beyond observational adequacy to that of descriptive and explanatory adequacy. Whether or not these distinguishable categories are as separable as they were made out to be has since been questioned, but that is another matter. Over the years much of the apparatus used to transform sentences, to locate meaning relationships, etc. has changed, but the internal relationships between elements of a sentence exposed by T-G grammarians has received important psycholinguistic support.

How has all this affected the field of language learning, especially ESL? Chomsky, while severely critical of major tenets of the structuralist, has been reluctant to offer more than minimal advice to language teachers. Several T-G advocates have attempted to translate implications from this revolutionary perspective into classroom practices. Textbooks involving students in sentence combining and transforming exercises appeared on the scene. Explanations of these relationships were 'allowed' in keeping with the cognitive psychology that received impetus from Chomsky's stress on the innate nature of language and its source in cognitive structures. And since knowing a language implied the use of one novel sentence after another within the confines of rule, the notion of language learning as habit formation was rejected. Therefore, drill on patterns was undermined. Besides, pattern practice was seen to be objectionable because substitutions could not be made without understanding relationships not indicated by the position of words in a sentence. Thus, one cannot substitute 'easy' for 'eager' in "John is eager/easy to please" even though it obviously fits in that position in the sentence. To know that 'John' is subject in one case and object in the other is said to be a fact of the underlying grammar. But this means that for every sentence what can be substituted at any one point has to be understood for its relation to other words in the sentence. Otherwise the exercise is not meaningful. For that matter, grammatical ambiguity is not the only objection to being able to make pattern practice substitutions in some simple and automatic way: both 'gun' and 'secretary' can occur in the same position and grammar in this illustration:

Joe fired his gun/secretary.

By knowing the language, we know why these are not contextually interchangeable. So, no relationships not already known can be meaningfully drilled.

Besides advocating exercises in the transformation of sentences by internationals learning English, some suggested we find common deep structures between the student's native language and English so that differences can be seen as superficial. No textbook of this nature appeared. Sound contrasts that are true of the target language but not of the native language would now be seen not simply as different in sounds or phonemes, but as rearrangements of universal sound features that as such compare as well as contrast native and target languages. Moreover, significance of sound is no longer determined by contrast to other sounds in the same position, but by the constraints of the immediate context that determines which features are non-redundant (cf. morphophonemics or systematic phonemics). Autonomous phonemics is rejected.

Many errors are now seen not to be explainable by the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis but are attributed to intra-lingual relationships within the target language. They illustrate the learners universal cognitive capacity to regularize language by extending dominant rules to cases where they are not applicable: deal+ed = dealed, he permitted me to use it = he let me to use it, I don't know it + where are my keys = I don't know where are my keys, etc. Such errors exemplify the errors children make when they apply similar extensions in acquiring their first language. However, not a few errors of grammar, meaning, and sound (especially the latter) still appeared to be best accounted for by recognizing interference phenomena exposed by bilingual comparisons. More recently these kinds of errors have been reassessed as to degree of difficulty. Posited is a Markedness Differential Hypothesis that attributes difficulty in language interference problems to the way the two languages compare in terms of typological marking. Without detailing this somewhat complex matter (see Eckman, 1977)[2], it is important to note that this concept is a further consequence of the emphasis on language universals that comes out of the kind of question asking/answer finding of the T.G. grammarians with their bent for language as a reflection of cognition. Parallels are shown to the intralingual errors of first language acquisition. Typologically marked types are learned later by children. However, this Markedness Differential Hypothesis allows for a partial insight from the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis but modifies it to be able to deal with degree of difficulty in a universally applicable way. Data so far investigated appear to lend support to the thesis. For example, while Persian, Arabic, Chinese and Japanese all contrast with English in their relative clause structure (similar in some ways, different in others), typological markedness shows the differences between English and Persian relative clauses to be more marked than those between English and Arabic, these latter to be more marked than those between English and Chinese, with least difference in markedness from English being true of Japanese. Decrease in degree of difficulty follows accordingly. As such, Chinese and Japanese, in that order, show least difficulty with this English structure.

Major deviation and revision occurred within the transformational camp in the late 1960's into the 1970's. This innovation (which some claim to be of revolutionary proportion) denies a level of deep grammar, that meaning through selectional restrictions interprets that grammar, and that language intuitions can determine well-formedness without recourse to presuppositions and the context of situations. These generative semanticists find surface structures to be derived from universally applicable underlying semantic categories. Common meanings across languages surface differently, but no level of underlying grammatical rules is claimed necessary. This has opened many questions and, along with other emphases, is responsible for the present opening up of myriad possibilities for the ESL classroom. Accusations of having closed the door to these possibilities are directed at linguists, including Chomsky and his structuralist predecessors, who have considered language to be a closed system. Effects of language function on its form and meaning have underlined the importance of presuppositions and situational context. Rather sharp separation of competence from performance by T.G. grammarians is claimed to have discouraged inquiry into the latter. Form/function interplay is now seen as crucial to developing communicative competence in and out of the language classroom. This emphasis seems to recapture K. Pike's long-time insistence (often against odds) that language is form-meaning composite, and that as such none of its internal systems or parameters are autonomous or separable (however distinguishable they may be). To Pike, these interpenetrate, and extra-linguistic context has its interpretive effect as well. Moreover, the many language contexts in which man finds himself (see Wardhaugh, 1975)[3] are receiving expression in one way or another through the several appeals that are currently attempting to get our attention. These different approaches often appeal to different aspects of the total language learning situation as these are presently understood.[4] Older emphases, with their partial answers (often overstressed) still persist: grammar-translation, direct method, aural-oral, Mim-Mem; but added to these one will now find: the Dartmouth Method (not unlike Pattern Practice, but more demanding of both student and teacher), emphasis on language as rule-governed behavior, Socio-drama, Directed Conversation, Total Physical Response (listening and responding through actions), Aural Approach (speak only after basic knowledge of vocabulary and grammar is secured), St. Cloud (speaking in response to situations triggered by visual aids), the Silent Way (student responds through use of charts, rods, and reading. The teacher is more-or-less silently helpful), Suggestopedia (emphasizes a 'tensionless' atmosphere for learning including use of varied voice tones and music), Situational Reinforcement (practices linked with situations, use of realia), Counseling-Learning or Community Language Learning (teacher as empathetic listener, student wants emphasized, teacher acts as counseler/ mediator). Note how several of these emphasize the affective element - often neglected in the past. In addition to these approaches there is a very stong appeal to emphasizing the learner rather than the teacher. Also, in the interest of getting closer to the future needs of students, English for Special Purposes, such as English for Technology and Science is becoming a part of the ESL program at various locations. Moreover, errors that students make are now found to be caused by a variety of factors besides bilingual interference and target language projections. These include individual learning strategies and language fossilization. Some claim to be against all methods, but since method or approach is so involved with language learning it is difficult to see how this notion can be clarified without contradiction. More formal classroom procedures continue to suggest that some of language for at least some people can be learned in this atmosphere; less formal attempts to provide circumstances for language learning reminescent of children learning their first language are recommended to balance these more formal classes and appeal to other strategies used in language learning. As such, language learning and language acquisition situations are both advised for ESL.

It is to the current emphasis on pragmatics and having the student gain communicative (listening, speaking, reading, writing) competence that I would like to direct my last remarks as these matters impinge upon the matter of shifting questions, partial answers and the task of teaching Asians in America:

Oller stresses that the inability of linguistics and ESL to get beyond questions of pattern practice (structuralists) or even 'cognitive-code application' and to spend so much time on formal structures internal to language (and on contrastive analysis) is predicated on the assumption that language is a self-contained system (with a formal calculus introduced by the T-G grammarians). It is for this reason that situational context until very recently has been so neglected. He challenges a basic question asked by the 'self-contained-theory' advocates: "How do sentences and other units of language relate to each other?" not for being unimportant, but for allowing for only partial answers, leaving the question of how language is used to convey information unasked and unanswered. The current shift of questions relating the everyday function of language to its form (pragmatics) has resulted in ESL textbooks that attempt to do just that for the language learner. Actually, considering close ties between form and function for language learning is not a new concept. It is undoubtedly as old as language teaching is. However, to the extent that American ESL personnel wanted to retain the respect of the scientists of language on the local scene, the questions and answers they provided would identify the form and content of the language classroom. That has been the contention of this paper. That is why our language practices have been limited the way they have: partial questions, partial answers, and a showing of partiality to these answers.

But no easy eclecticism is forthcoming or even desirable. The richer the theory the better, but not all current approaches are simply parts of a whole that warrants try-out. Goals must be decided on nonpragmatic grounds, and we eventually have to rely on what is most theoretically sound to arrive at what works. That is, it is the deepest and most accurate insight into problems which will prove to be the most workable whether or not the 'tryer-outer' is aware of the basis for his (un)success. It is theory that works - reflects what exists, or doesn't work very well because it doesn't reflect what exists very well.

As we have experienced the emergence of these major revisions (revolutions?) in recent linguistic history, it has appeared that the main proponents of the 'school' newly under challenge, who have, perhaps, also made their influence felt in the language learning arena, tend to resist change. This is so largely because the 'added' requirements of the latest movement, such as needing to posit underlying rules or allowing language performance to influence language competence, are objected to on theoretical grounds...and because of a pre-theoretical commitment to those theoretical grounds. The 'predecessors' stance in science, logic, the nature/nurture controversy, etc. does not allow for the 'new' questions and answers. The neglected questions to which these newest investigations address themselves are purposely neglected and/or subject to a different assessment by the 'predecessor.' To that extent, the data are seen as theory-laden, and no crucial test will be convincing. Arguing from different basic assumptions, theorists often misconstrue each others line of reasoning as they attempt to point out their opponents' weaknesses. To be won over to the position of the opposition, admits Kuhn,[5] after discerningly appraising the situation, is to be converted. Some of the keenest minds in linguistics and ESL have not been converted to recent shifts of emphasis.

Very relevant to teaching English to Asians is the current attention to pragmatics. But we will again illustrate how onesided (or partial) we can be if we approach this problem from the perspective of say a 'difference' hypothesis exclusively. Many would agree that not only is it important to identify how language and life interrelate in the target language, but also that we be able to compare target language form-function interdependencies with what occurs at this level in the student's native language-in-life. The literature contains studies of how various peoples from different Asian countries compare with us in their handling of space, relating to the opposite sex, behavior toward different age groups, conduct in the market place, attitude toward superiors, feelings toward family members, use of honorifics, displaying of emotion, (dis)continuance of marital traditions, etc. Now in all this we can learn from experiences related by our students as to often changing situations in their country, and we experiencially relate to the situation in the United States. However, in both cases we should be alerted to those biases that contribute to our partial assessment of what we experience. Science does not stand alone in the matter of absraction. Moreover, if we are inclined to overstress differences between customs here and elsewhere, we will receive the support of articles and books that may further enlighten us as to differences. Thus, E. Hall's popular book 'The Silent Language' treats us to a myriad of differences between cultures, considers culture as communication, and has as its aims that we may see ourselves as others see us by becoming aware of our customs through contrast. By thus understanding other peoples and ourselves, it is hoped that we will improve international communication. Much of this is undoubtedly instructive and enlightening (though I have had students from areas referred to as to customs who restrict these practices rather severely in terms of time and place, more so than the book indicates). However, Hall collaborates with G. Trager, structural linguist with a pre-Chomsky 'difference' bias. Thus these differences are not seen as surface manifestations of underlying universal principles. Universals have to be inferred. An anthropologist with a different slant (e.g. Levi Strauss whose perspective compares inexactly to Chomsky's) might have assessed the data quite differently. We need to learn from what is exposed by these various students of language and culture while simultaneously being aware of biases that may neglect important areas of concern. If we see these partial answers as derivable from data answering to theory-directed questions we can learn from them without being partial to them.

In the opinion of the writer, the reverse of the ideal mentioned in the last sentence has been the plight of linguistics and ESL over the years; not that anyone has all the answers, but that all the answers were embraced within the confines of some of them. Reductionism set in. Gradually we have been emerging from this dilemma. But no language science can mirror reality. It can only incompletely and inexactly (subject to our questions) reveal secrets as to general principles that reflect rule or law for language. Not even the richest science can capture the integral single situation involving man in language with psychological, social, lingual and other parameters instantly brought into play. Science - even the least impoverished science - abstracts and deals in abstractions.

Terms like objective, neutral, dispassionate, empirical are still much overused. There is no one objectivity as there is no single inference that is incontroversially derivable from data. Since the subject is involved in question asking, science cannot be dispassionate. 'Empirical' then has more than a single definition (test 'validity' suffers similar fate). Unambiguous definition of these terms receives little sympathy from present-day philosophy of science (cf. Kuhn, Feyerabend, Polanyi, etc.). Committed theorists - and some not so committed - continue to run 'controlled' experiments, but something is inevitably left uncontrolled. Later investigators - sometimes otherwise committed, may ask questions about that neglected 'something' under more 'controlled' conditions. Corrections and refinements often result. Still later experiments may be in order. Objectivity itself is questioned, not most importantly in respect to a given experiment, but as a meaningful concept. Understandably so, I think. Capability of being falsified (Popper) has been cited as prime standard for theory qualifying as scientific, but it has been found that no test results can convincingly falsify what is believed to be so. Such results - convincing to many - have been regarded by the 'opposition' as trivial, uninteresting, not properly elicited, or demanding only minor adjustment of the theory being challenged.

Oller sees the emphasis on language as a self-contained system to be responsible for much language-learning practice that has students drill patterns in a vacuum. It is responsible for 'vast literature' on bilingual comparisons in phonology, morphology, and syntax. On the other hand, few and far between (somewhat improved since Oller's 1973 remarks) have been the efforts addressing themselves to the question "What is the effect of language in concrete situations of everyday life?"[6] Semantic and pragmatic concerns have been largely missing from our partial (double meaning) ESL textbooks. Closed-system formal relationships thus lord it over the concrete contexts in which these are used, even suggesting that such communicative events have no bearing on how forms will be processed. Clarity of concept depends to a high degree on the proper use of language: language can be thought of as clarifying experience, and as such cannot be wrested from culture. Its structure and its meaning are tied up with what it expresses. So conceived, langauge is not a closed system, although it has its distinctive purposes(s).

Man's life - human culture (the universal) and men's lives - different cultures (the particular) are jointly reflected in language.

From all this - a partial answer to our task of teaching Asians who have arrived on our shores: Whatever knowledge-in-awareness the analyst of language offers must be seen against the background of its pertinence to the rich source of naive everyday experience in language - from which all abstractions partially reflecting rule for language are made. So viewed, these aids can deepen our conscious knowledge to the benefit of our students at the same time that our experiencial knowledge functions as a check over all types of reductionisms and distortions that derive from partial answers to theory-directed questions. Thus we know that many Asian students of English as a Second Language have difficulty with the article in English. To further deepen our understanding as to where and why this is so, bilingual comparisons of English with Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Vietnamese, etc. can be helpful. Other possible sources of these errors may also be explored (e.g. rule extension possibilities and individual strategies). But with a perspective that does not allow abstraction and analysis of this feature to replace its meaning for concrete experiencial events, we would not have had to have waited for an assessment of global vs. local errors to judge the relative significance of the 'article' problem. On the other hand, we can now learn from such knowledge-brought-to-awareness something of the reason for its generally unconfusing nature. But this kind of listener's-point-of-view error analysis comes from asking the until recently neglected question: "What difference do these errors make to language as communication?"[7] Asking this question years ago (certainly not neglected by those instructors who have been able to transcend the partial answers of the language scientist) could have balanced our instruction as it would have helped uncover the partiality of those partial answers that ignore the problem.

"Don't you have all the answers?" "Yes" says a Korean. That 'yes' unless said in jest undoubtedly means "no" (i.e. "Yes, I don't have all the answers"). If you don't know both Korean and English, a bilingual comparison can expose this problem. However, that this can be a problem that exceeds the misuse of the 'article' in importance relates to its much greater likelihood to confuse in the context of situation. Redundant context is minimal where answers are either 'yes' or 'no'. May this example help conclude that we ought so to learn from the work of the analyst and from language-in-life that we deepen our consciousness of the latter through exposures made by the former while we simultaneously force it (the work of the analyst) back into language-in-life to judge for relevance, uncover commitments, and unravel possible distortions. But even in so doing can we help from being partial? The task is great. Rots of ruck!

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DEVELOPING COMPREHENSIVE SERVICES

FOR NEW YORK CITY'S CHINESE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

by Allen B.Cohen, General Director, Chinatown Planning Council.

Out of desperation of 83 years of discrimination and benign neglect, the Chinatown Planning Council emerged as a struggling grassroots organization. Its beginnings were an outgrowth of the pride and self consciousness developed by many minority groups during the 1960s. Formed by individuals in the fields of social service and education as well as business people and local citizens, the Council, from its inception, set as a programmatic goal the development of educational and social services for the thousands of Chinese Americans who had been left to wither in the back water ghettoes of Chinatown and the tens of thousands of Chinese Americans who were about to enter the U.S. with the repeal of the McCarren-Walter Act.

Development of services where none had existed was to be performed in a professional manner: and in a way that would support independence and self sufficiency for individuals, families and the community as a whole, consistent with traditional Chinese cultural values.

In addition, the Council was interested in insuring that those individuals who because of age, physical or emotional handicaps, received services or entitlements prescribed by law and to inform the Chinese community of the availability of these programs.

Comprehensive Services

Stuart Cattell documented the need for action in his "Health, Welfare and Social Organizations in Chinatown, NYC, 1962." The report indicated that there were tremendous unmet social service needs in the Chinatown community which at that time had an estimated

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population of 27,000. Many of these problems were deliberately hidden from view by Chinatown's established leadership. The report forewarned that impending changes in the immigration laws would further exacerbate this already severe problem.

In 1964 the members of this informal group decided to stop talking and do something about the problems. The organization was formed and incorporated, funded with a donation of $85.00 from one of the board members. This sum was the organization's main source for the first year. Operating out of donated space, board members who were teachers taught; board members who were social workers counselled; lawyers gave free advice -- all on a voluntary basis.

In the summer of 1965 the Council wrote a proposal for Head Start that was funded. At the end of the summer the program was transferred to the Presbyterian Church under whose auspices it still functions today. The following fall the Council obtained a $76,000 contract for multi social services from the Council Against Poverty, the New York City administrative arm of O.E.O. These vital walk-in services included: translation, employment referral, supportive counselling, ombudsman services, housing assistance and help with a variety of government programs, including welfare, medicaid, medicare, social security, income tax, etc. Initially these programs and the services of the Council were derided, as not needed at best, and as leftist at worst.

In 1966 Chinese began to exercise their rights under the liberalized immigration quotas and 20,000 people began to enter the U.S. annually, a pace that has kept up until today.

Charts 1 and 2 show the Chinese population in the major cities in the U.S. as of 1970. Although New York's Chinese population as a percentage of the city's total population was small, it now has the largest Chinese population in the U.S. Chart 3 shows that New York City has become the major magnet for most Chinese immigrants.

As the pressure of immigration swelled the overcrowded area of Chinatown, newly arrived immigrants learned that they could find a receptive ear and help at CPC without the expectation of returning a favor or paying a bribe.

Initially the Council sought to develop a comprehensive planning role in conjunction with many of the concerned lay and religious groups and associations within the community in order to meet unmet needs. Frustrated by its inability to develop this approach because of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association's unwillingness to participate as an equal member in the process, the Council set out to develop these programs through its own initiative.

Out of the constant bombardment of social problems created by the influx already discussed, the Council began to pressure the government for a variety of services to meet unmet needs which were grouped into several broad categories: employment, housing, youth, the aged and cultural activities.

Employment

Highly motivated, the immigrants often risking their lives traveled thousands of miles and bridged enormous cultural and climatic differences with a 24 hour time frame in order to find economic as well as political security in their new land.

For everyone who is able to work the community itself has two major sources of employment in constant need of an inexpensive work force: the Chinese garment assembly factories and the food industry centered around wholesale and retail distribution as well as the large Chinese restaurant industries. Because they are Chinese owned, require marginal skills and have a large turnover, they are a ready source of employment for the non English speaking immigrants. Over 9,000 women are currently employed in union organized garment factories. The Council feels that these are important businesses within the community that should be supported. However, it also feels that new opportunities for immigrants within the greater community should be expanded.

Expansion of skills, including improved English language ability, will enable the immigrants to develop options outside of the traditional labor markets of Chinatown. To this end the Council has developed an interrelated Adult Education Center with supporting employment centers. Specific programs include:

*Entry level clerk/typist program now in its third year. Center places over 85% of its 120 annual students.

*A Youth Employment Program to train 12 out of school youths in the construction trades during FY 78-79.

*A restaurant management and pattern design course to provide advanced skills for industries that the Chinese are familiar with.

*High school equivalency courses.

*English as a second language in conjunction with the Board of Education.

*College credit courses leading to a degree in conjunction with

Staten Island Community College.

While the Adult Education Center employs its own job developer and counselor, CPC has recently set up the Asian American Employment Center in Chinaotwn with an outreach program in Queens to help locate meaningful jobs for Asians with limited ESL skills.

Over the years through these programs the Council has pioneered in placing Chinese Americans in non traditional Chinatown jobs, including the largest corporations in New York City, federal, state and municipal jobs as well as in the private, non profit sector and many sectors of New York City's wholesale, retail and service industries.

ESL classes, initially funded by a pilot program (HEW) with an enrollment of 700 pupils a semester, have dwindled despite need because of the city's cutbacks in adult education services.

All of the programs within this series as in all of the Council's programs are adapted to the special needs of the client group. The adult education teachers are bilingual in Chinese and English and learning materials are geared to everyday life situations. In the employment programs bilingual staff match skills to jobs and stress the interrelationships between interpersonal relationships and job oriented skills.

Day Care

We have established that in over 85% of households with children both parents work. However, apartments are small and frequently grandparents are either working themselves or not in the picture. Therefore, traditional child care services are nonexistent. In addition, the neighborhood and living units are relatively unsafe and it is not desirable to leave young children, even school age children alone without supervision. Cognizant of this need, the Council set out six years ago to establish comprehensive day care services in Chinatown.

Today the Council sponsors seven school age centers with an enrollment of over 700 children. Two full day day care centers for over 400 pre-school children have been built during the eight years since the Council's first survey of community needs indicated that this was a priority item. Both facilities developed with maximum community input lie vacant and are being converted to other uses because the city ran out of money before the centers were ready to open. The fact remains that the need continues to be paramount. Over 800 applicants are currently on city approved waiting lists without a massive registration drive.

The Elderly

Yesterday's restaurant workers, the male entrepreneurs of the hand laundries, the men who came to make their fortunes, remit money home and return to China, but who became trapped by circumstances, are left to linger on diminished funds. Ill-housed poorly fed, lacking English language skills, they are frequently trapped in alien neighborhoods without a background of experience in constructive leisure activities. They sat isolated and alone, bereft of needed and deserved social services, waiting till CPC's Project Open Door began under a pilot grant to provide these services on a no-fee basis

Prior to 1971 Hamilton Madison House alone provided some services, particularly a hot meal program to the elderly. While they had over 1,000 members, only 170 could be fed on a given day.

Chinatown Planning Council was instrumental in helping to form the Chinatown Senior Citizens Coalition Center and other senior programs in the area to extend services to thousands of Chinese elderly in need.

Today, through Titles III, VII, IX and X of the Older Americans Act, the Council provides one of the most comprehensive programs for the elderly to be found in the city, including multi social services, ombudsman, employment, nutrition, education and recreation services as well as friendly visiting and home health care through ALESS for the 3,000 members who use its services. Housing for the elderly, a long established need, has spurred CPC to obtain funding for 150 units of senior citizens housing. It will be integrated with the service delivery system of CPC.

Youth

The Council was the first to recognize the growing disaffiliation and anti social behavior by a small but significant group of teenagers engaged in gang fights and criminal activities. Of all the problems we face, this is perhaps the most difficult due to the tie-in between the gangs and organized adult crime. Over the years the Council has endeavored to work with some of these youngsters but frequently did not have the trained staff or physical resources to do so.

Today the Council sponsors two prevention programs geared to meet the needs of the 400 adolescents who might otherwise turn to drugs or gang activities. The Council has also initiated a consortium which will attempt to unify and coordinate anti gang programs and services amongst the established youth service organizations in the community.

For the "straight" children there is inadequate indoor and outdoor play space and organized sports programs. CPC had organized until recently the only competitive sports program in Chinatown involving hundreds of youngsters. Unfortunately this program was diminished by a lack of funding.

Cultural Arts

Man lives not by bread alone, therefore, we have developed a modest arts council to provide workshops and free concerts for a variety of age groups, to preserve the richness of the traditional arts and to provide jobs and audiences for talented performers.

Housing

Basic housing stock in the core area of the Lower East Side consists of old law tenement buildings of the most vile nature while on the outer rim runs a series of low and moderate income housing projects. The Council has provided for two basic services: 1) tenant-landlord complaints in which Council staff acts as an intermediary, often as an ombudsman to protect tenant rights and interpret ever-changing laws. 2) We also seek to handle emergency housing situations and assist persons in acquiring public housing.

In addition to its senior citizens housing project, the Council hopes to develop either by itself or with others a number of new housing projects over the next decade.

Economic Development

The Council is exploring ways to develop new job opportunities through the establishment of economic development. This is still in the exploration stage.

Research

The Council initiated its first research project in 1976 under a grant from the New York Metropolitan Regional Medical Program. Findings indicated that there was a tremendous need for bilingual Chinese American staff in municipal hospitals in Queens, Brooklyn and the Bronx. The research resulted in the successful publication "Health is Wealth."

The Rockefeller Foundation is now financing a research project on the assimilation process now going on in the Chinese communities

Work in the Expanding Chinese Community

The Regional Medical Program project indicated that there are many Chinese American immigrants using the Lower East Side as a way station to acquire knowledge and capital in line with the traditional and historical characteristics of other immigrant groups.

Blue collar communities have emerged in the northeast Bronx, in Brooklyn around Prospect Park and lower and upper middle class neighborhoods have strongly emerged in Queens in Elmhurst, Jackson Heights and Flushing. In 1977 the Council opened a small office in Flushing to serve the estimated 35,000 Chinese Americans living in that borough. Similar requests for service have emanated from Brooklyn and the Bronx and the Council eventually hopes to set up services in these areas.

Uniqueness of the Council's Activities

In developing and promoting personal social services, the Council's [illegible] strategically placed program activities are located in 15 programmatic centers throughout the Lower East Side and the Flushing office in Queens.

Chart 4 indicates the intense spread of the Chinese community. While the chart shows Delancey Street as the northern most terminous of this intense community, it actually stretches to 14 Street. On the west the economic boundaries of the community have been visibly stretched to Broadway. Unseen are the moves to purchase sections of Tri-Bec-Ka, west of Broadway, south of Canal Street.

In total, 2,000 persons are served daily in organized programs and a hundred walk-in clients are served by the Council's 200 staff members.

Although each center is organized along specific programmatic lines, i.e. day care, senior citizens, etc., the staff and members are made to feel that they are part of a community-wide effort encompassing more than the clients served; that their efforts serve the entire community. We have developed the concept of a holistic approach to rendering services. By holistic we mean looking at a series of interlocking problems that involve the individual, the family, and local, state and national systems that impinge upon each other and that finding a solution to Mrs. Yin's problems stemming from her inability to deal effectively with her family means dealing with some very complex personal, social, economic and political problems. This macro approach to dealing with problems can be time consuming and frustrating to the average worker as well as the person presenting the problem; however, basic to the solution is some understanding of the forces at work and how to deal with the problems.

What is perceived as Mrs. Yin's inability to discipline her children and to form meaningful relationships with them may be the result of the problems of acculturation faced by many immigrant groups. Mrs. Yin and her husband work 12 hours a day, 6 days a week in order to make ends meet. Her children are left unsupervised and in the course of learning a new language are picking up a new set of values which are in conflict with the parents. Overcrowding in a household of six shut into four tiny rooms allows little privacy for study. Grandparents no longer understand their adult children, let alone their grandchildren.

To obtain new housing for the family, day care for the children, counseling or a new job for the parent in a tight labor market and in a society where social service dollars are highly competitive or non existent means that the worker must take a variety of complex problems and situations simultaneously not only to solve Mrs. Yin's individual problems but the problems of thousands of Mrs. Yin's fellow emigres.

Each of the Council's centers serves as a mini multi social service program wherever possible. Prior to budget cutbacks and the elimination of family workers, the day care centers served not only its own clients but the entire day (elementary) school in which the program was housed.

Our philosophy of one-stop social services grew out of our early experiences in dealing with the vast bureaucracy of the city's human services delivery system and the disorganized and inhuman way in which they dealt with clients. Non English speaking clients had an additional handicap in working with an overworked and indifferent bureaucracy.

Utilizing bilingual or multi lingual staff from multiple disciplines, including many paraprofessionals from the community, the Council has sought to remove as many barriers to service as are humanly possible. Council staff presented with a problem by a client first attempt to solve it within the resources of the activity center. If this is not possible, an interagency referral would be made. Should the resources for help not exist within the Council, workers are instructed to find the appropriate outside resources. Workers in making referrals frequently accompany the client to serve as a translator, often as an ombudsman, to insure that the client receives the entitlement programs to which he is entitled.

Our viewpoint is that the needs of adult seeking employment, training or educational services should be intimately connected to day care services and vice versa. Attempts are made to give individuals in need of these services priority status on waiting lists for the agency's companion programs.

The employment center, while it focuses on the employment needs of adults, is sensitive to the peculiar needs of teenagers and the elderly for employment and attempts to coordinate employment services for these groups.

Streetworkers working with a family whose child is heavily involved in the gangs will seek to make a preventive referral for younger siblings to the day care centers. Adult service programs will pick up on the problems of the elder parents of their adult clients and make the appropriate referral to the agency's senior program. We have adopted the motto that the users of services come first, that no matter what the conditions or time of day, it is the workers' obligation to find the most satisfactory solution that is possible.

Although a Board of Directors consisting of 30 members serves as the major policy body for the Council, each of the program centers has its own advisory group. They serve in an overseer capacity to ensure quality and direction of services as well as to raise supplemental funds. In total, over 135 users of services serve on these advisory committees during the course of a year. Not only are they contributing their advice but these groups also serve as training grounds to enable these individuals to learn organizational skills that will enable them to move into leadership roles in their PTAs, church groups, unions, etc. and develop a sense of voluntary civic pride that for historical and cultural reasons has been missing in the Chinese community.

Gaps in Service

Gaps in service occur because our staff are overworked and underpaid and frequently not trained in some of the areas of human services that they find themselves in. Usually the funding source while acknowledging our philosophy of totality of integrated services funds at a particular level and frequently does not fund for trained social workers, youth workers or community organization staff who could bring that additional professional expertise to bear on the problem. Our staff frequently works beyond the normal work hours and assumes more than one function in order to achieve the scope of services that we are delivering.

We believe that despite these limitations we offer an exemplary program of integrated personal services that aim to move our target population to self sufficiency and to assist the aged and ill with programs that would allow them to live with a measure of decency.

I will now turn over the microphone to my colleague who will explain in detail his particular program.

Acknowledgement:

Sung, B.L., *Manpower*, U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1973.

CHINESE IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

ROSE CHAO

Prior to 1965 before Congress passed a new and more liberal immigration act, New York City's Chinatown population was a static figure of 27,000 to 30,000 per year. Most of these recent immigrants head for New York's Chinatown.

Aside from the large increase in numbers, the recent Chinese immigrants are different from their earlier counterparts. Unlike early Chinese immigrants who were mainly males, today's Chinese immigrants come from large urban centers in the Far East. Along with this changing scenario of immigration, numerous problems have risen. For one thing the recent media exposure have alerted and called attention to the increase in juvenile delinquency in Chinatown, dispelling a long-time assumption held by the general public about docile Chinese youths, obedient to their elders.

Berkely Rice, in a 1977 article in Psychology Today, wrote about the once quietest ethnic neighborhood, Chinatown, exploding with new gang violence. Much speculation has attributed this wave of crime, fear, and change to a ten-year flood of young immigrants from Hong Kong. The large numbers of immigrants coming into New York City's Chinatown are taxing the already strained facilities of the few community agencies, trying to cope with the influx. What about the immigrants and their adjustment to the new environment? Immigration is an amalgamation process that brings people of different origins together usually without prior preparation, and it usually produces disruptive consequences, high degrees of social and personal disorganization, and a reorientation of the dominant society's collective goals, moral traditions, and political structures.

To find out what is happening in New York's Chinatown, Prof. Betty Lee Sung of City College New York initiated research to study specifically the "Impact of Immigration on the Development of Chinese American Children." She noted that the burden of adjustment to the new land seemed to fall inordinately heavy upon the shoulders of the children in immigrant families. She was able to obtain researching funding from the Office of Child Development of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to study this phenomenon. This monograph is but a preliminary study and publication of the initial findings of the larger research project.

Prof. Sung asked me to take a specific segment of the research, that is to be responsible for the elementary school children. (The total project involves children from the elementary through the high school level.) My task was to collect data and to observe their interaction in the schools, with their families, and in their communities.

Children in the third and fifth grades were selected from two schools. One school was in Chinatown and one in a suburban neighborhood in Queens. The latter school was selected because of its large enrollment of Chinese American children. One of the main factors we wanted to look at was whether residence in Chinatown had any effect on their adjustment.

The data in this report were collected by participant observation rather than by means of questionnaires. The observation period took place between the fall of 1976 and the summer of 1977. The focus was to relate the child to the total setting. The researchers spent a great deal of time in the classrooms, in the school yards, in the lunchrooms, visiting the families, and scouting the neighborhoods. The purpose was to do an exploratory study. In this preliminary report, we are going to describe what we learned, what we saw, and what we perceived to be sociologically or psychologically significant.

In so doing we may provide information for the enlightenment of teachers, social workers, doctors, community workers, social scientists or any others who may have responsibility for helping Chinese Americans. If anything is to be done the first step is to get the facts and to find out what is happening to children plucked from the Orient and set down in the megaopolis of New York City.

IN CHINATOWN

Children and School

It is early morning about 8:20 a.m. Children are walking to a local elementary school. Many mothers and some fathers are escorting children right up to the school doors. Just outside the school yard, some grown-ups are conversing with one another. The children file into the school. Inside the lunch room is filled with children eating their breakfast. Some mothers linger after their children are inside the school.

In all outward appearances, things seem to be in proper order. It is a good sight to see parents taking an interest in their children. In actuality many of these mothers will not see the children until seven or eight in the evening. Other mothers will expect their children to meet them at the garment factories after school.

Upstairs in a school room set aside for the parents' use, the president of the PTA is trying to hold a meeting before some of the parents start going off to their various jobs. The meeting must start promptly and end no later than 9:15 a.m. The few fathers who escorted their children to school may have just come home from their jobs in the early morning hours. But their fears for the safety of their children are enough motivation to get them out of bed to make sure that their children arrive at school safely. The children accept the escorting service along with the free breakfast as a matter of fact. This is part of the start of every school day.

The elementary school selected for our study in the Chinatown area was chosen for its high percentage of Chinese immigrant children enrolled. The school building itself is quite old, built in 1921. Writings on the walls surrounding the school reveal that many waves of different immigrant children have trampled these grounds. Opposite the school building are lofts housing garment factories. Each morning trucks are seen pulling up to the sidewalk and loading up with finished garments. Many of the mothers of the school children work in these shops across the street. Behind the school building there are rows of old tenements with shops on the ground floors. Most buildings in this area are close to one hundred years old.

The maximum capacity of the school is 914. Enrollment runs about 1,100. The once adequate lunch room is now operating on a double shift in order to feed the students each day. Eight hundred free breakfasts are served every school morning. Before the breakfast clean-up is completed, it is time to serve free lunches to about nine hundred children. The school also operates a nursery program and an after-school center. The attendance record at the school is better than 95 percent. Ninety percent of the students are Chinese. Six Chinese teachers are on the staff. There is a bilingual-bicultural program serving the newly arrived Chinese immigrant children. About three-fourths of the Chinese children are foreign-born.

Unlike schools in other disadvantaged areas there is a general atmosphere of order and discipline in this school. The school personnel seem to enjoy their work. They consider a Chinatown appointment to be "teacher's heaven."

In conversations with the teachers on the question of major problems encountered in the adjustment of recent Chinese immigrant children in the school, the overwhelming consensus of opinion was the language problem. As one teacher said, "Judging from the baffled look on his face, I knew K. C. did not understand the lesson. Yet I could not stop after each sentence to help him. K. C. came to school every day. Occasionally when we were working on some number fact, he showed an understanding while the remainder of the time he just sat, politely looking miserable. I knew it wasn't fair, but with a class of thirty-four pupils I had to keep going for the sake of the others. I am so glad we are finally having a Chinese bilingual-bicultural program. I am sure K. C. will get more out of school when placed in a class where instruction will be carried out in a language that he understands."

Another teacher pointed out that perhaps living in Chinatown obscures a student's need to realize the importance and urgency to learn English. She said, "Take a look in Chinatown. Doesn't it remind you of Hong Kong? You can get along without ever speaking English. Besides the children in this neighborhood have very few opportunities outside of the school to practice or to use their English."

Yet another teacher lamented that many children are discouraged when they find that without the English skills they can't learn the other subjects. Take Tony for instance, who was ten years old when he first arrived at the school. At that time the school did not have a Chinese bilingual program. Tony was placed in the slowest class of his grade. He began to get discouraged as the months went by when he found himself further and further behind. There was no one to help him with his school work at home. He started to fight with other children. His parents were worried about his behavior and especially his negative attitude towards school.

Without the necessary language skills, it becomes increasingly difficult for these immigrant children to handle many of the tasks set by the curriculum. If this is not remedied quickly the student falls further behind as he goes from one grade to the next. This is especially crucial for the older children. A definite advantage exists for younger children who start in the lower grades but for the ten or twelve-year olds, language becomes a problem. For example I observed in a mixed reading grouping of children ranging from eight to twelve-year olds, the younger ones seem to be less self conscious about their attempts to read whereas the older ones were reluctant to raise their hands to answer a question or volunteer to read a passage. Occasionally you will find the younger ones laughing at some of the mistakes made by the older children.

Aside from being an important tool in functioning well at school, language is important in the development of self concept and motivation. With adequate language skills, a student can better cope with the demands of his school environment and have a greater sense of control over it. If a child is handicapped by limitations in English, he will need special training, but even with the passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1974, there were few resources and little attention was paid to special language classes for the Chinese.

The entire extent of English as a Second Language (ESL) programming in Chinese was limited to some federal funding beginning in 1969 in which only one school offered some ESL instruction from kindergarten to the third grade. After five years, this program was expanded to seven schools in Chinatown, but each school only had one bilingual teacher.

State financing did not begin until 1976 and only got under way at the same time we began our observations and study in the schools. The state grant, however, only provided for four Chinese bilingual teachers.

Tokenism is quite evident when we realize that there are about 23,000 Oriental children in the New York City schools. Of these, approximately 18,000 are Chinese who attend the public school system. One-third of the 18,000 attend school in the Chinatown vicinity. Of these, about 2,000 have some degree of language difficulty. [1]

At the elementary school where I did my observations there were three bilingual-bicultural classes. Grades 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6 were combined to form three separate classes. These classes totalled about one hundred students.

The instruction alternates between English and Chinese. Reading was conducted in English while other subjects were taught in Chinese. The instructional objective, I was told, is to develop a pupil body that is academically successful in reading, mathematics, and other subject areas in which the children can learn and maintain their native language, Chinese, while they learn English as a second language.

In the early stages of the school's attempt to institute special language classes, there are the inevitable growing pains and problems resulting from inexperience. Curriculum materials need to be developed. The books and instructional materials now used are first and second grade readers. The contents are much too elementary for the upper class children.

At present some of the structural problems of the bilingual-bicultural classes expressed by the teachers are the forming of workable and reasonably homogeneous classes. The size of the classes are too large. Average size of class is about thirty students. It is difficult to provide compatibility among the students because of age background and different native origins. In a class it is possible to have Chinese children who migrated from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Burma and

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[1] Interview with Jacob Wong, Director of the Bilingual program at School District 2, Manhattan.

Brazil. The range of competence in Chinese are too broad to form a truly homogeneous class. Because of the above-mentioned difficulties, it becomes necessary to subdivide a class and select suitable teaching materials for each group. While the teacher works with one group the others work with a paraprofessional or the students are left to work alone. Therefore, class instruction time is greatly shortened.

Given the grouping and lack of interesting curriculum materials, the children very often appeared to be restless. For example, during one math period while the teacher was instructing one group in math and going over some math homework, I noticed a girl staring out the window. A blank look registered on her face, her books were open but she was not working. She watched another classmate in the far corner who was talking to the boy next to her. Finally she rested her head on the desk. The teacher came down the aisle, stopped next to her and asked, "Have you done anything?"

"No."

"Better start, otherwise you will have to take it home and do it as homework. Do you understand these problems?"

The girl nodded. She picked up her pencil. Two minutes later she dropped it and once again stared out of the window. Meanwhile two students close to where I was sitting were playing with some toy racing cars. They were fighting to see which car was fastest. Some of the neighboring boys looked on while a couple of boys began to clown around. One of them hit the other on the head with a book. This was a big joke to the children. All around the noise level was rather high. The general sense of disorder was obvious.

In the bilingual classes I have found children drawing, making doll clothes for paper dolls, reading Chinese comic books, and showing off some new toys to friends. Some times a few students were up and walking around, and talking with each other.

When I interviewed the teachers and discussed the restlessness and high noise level in the bilingual classes, I was surprised that many were very tolerant. Their explanation was simply that many children are totally isolated from other playmates when they leave school. Many of them stay with their mothers in the factories after school. They live in tiny apartments that allow no freedom of movement. Therefore the children bring all their energies into the classrooms and ventilate them in the schools.

Others have attributed the unstructured classes to the less restrictive school system found in the United States, which is a new type of freedom unheard of in the Chinese school system in the Far East. The "free time" concept, teachers not being allowed to hit the children, relaxation in discipline, do give rise to children who want to explore and take advantage of the situation. However, when the activity was relevant to the student's experience and culture I saw students function as a group. The time I found them to be cohesive and working together was when the class was asked to put on a performance for the Chinese New Year celebration assembly. In this incidence the children worked together cooperatively. Parents were recruited to sew costumes. A group painted props. The children found it pleasurable to work together on a task, working as a member of a team and socially interacting.

Most teachers I interviewed agreed that there was really a tremendous need for some sort of intensive English training program in view of the large number of non-English speaking Chinese children in the school. However, opinions varied as to the method best to use. Some felt an intensive all English instruction for a short period of time will help to bring about fluency in the language. Their recommendation was for the new immigrant child to join a non-graded class in which he would be given an intensive immersion course in English only. Subjects like history, math, science and social studies could wait until the student attained some degree of proficiency in English. A definite disadvantage of the pull-out ESL classes was that the students would miss their regular classes during the pull-out period. Therefore their subject courses would be spotty and irregular. Some teachers criticized the bilingual classes for being conducted too much in Chinese.

Parents were also divided in their opinions about bilingual education. Some wanted their children to learn English as quickly as possible, and they felt that bilingual education retarded their English learning. Others were happy to see that their children were not falling behind in subject content.

I wanted to compare schools in Hong Kong or Taiwan to those in New York City to get an idea of what adjustments they had to make. The students complained that schools in Hong Kong were very difficult, and the teachers were strict. Homework was overwhelming to the point that many of their parents had to hire tutors to help their children keep up with their school work. Often they had to stay up until midnight to complete their homework. Many felt they were average to mediocre students in Hong Kong. Yet in the United States they were getting better grades. Mathematics is a favorite subject of the students. Most of them expressed an interest and liking for the American school system, and they enjoyed the new found freedom in the classroom. The general feeling was they were learning a great deal.

Those who disliked school and were having difficulties tended to produce the following responses about the school.

A: I don't like reading in English. English is so confusing.

There are too many grammar rules. I don't think there is enough work in school. I don't think I am learning. Once my mother took me shopping in a store uptown. She wanted me to translate, but I couldn't. She said, "Don't they teach you anything in school?" I feel like I am stupid. I got put back a grade when I came to America.

B: Worst thing about school is it's too long. You stay too many hours at school. In Hong Kong I only go for half a day. The "dark" kids you have to watch out for. They are always making trouble. Ever since I got hit by them in the bathroom, I don't go to the bathroom anymore. The math is too simple, but the English is too hard. You get so discouraged when there is no one to help you after school with homework.

The "dark" kids referred to here are the Hispanics and blacks, mainly the former. There are very distinct ethnic cleavages among the children, and bullying is common by the Puerto Ricans against the Chinese in and out of school.

C: I don't like school. When we did the play on "Hua Mu-lan" I liked it. All of us in class were working on it. It was really nice. I helped my mother sew up my costume. The only thing I can do in school is math. But everything else is hard. My mother complains how bad my brother has turned out in America by going around with bad kids from the school. I miss all my friends in Hong Kong. There is no place you can go. All day long after school I have to stay in my apartment. My mother works, and I don't see much of her. My father hates it here. He doesn't work steadily, sometimes he gets mad and yells at us. I wish we could go back to Hong Kong.

For those who expressed a dislike of school, they are really expressing a loneliness and helplessness with their new environment. They have difficulties with school subjects, yet they don't know how to get extra help. They are not making new friends. They are fearful of non-Chinese students who treat them rough or make fun of them. They found they have few outside recreational space to move about. Sometimes they are frightened when their parents run into problems getting employment.

Children and Family

Other areas of concern expressed by school personnel associated with immigrant children are the increasing number of working mothers among immigrant children and the overprotectiveness of children by immigrant parents. It appears these two phenomena are inconsistent. Working mothers imply a neglect or deprivation of the children while overprotectiveness implies a concern for the children. In order to understand these two phenomena I approached both teachers and parents with these issues.

The issue of working mothers is becoming so prevalent that the school is concerned when there is a sick child at school. More often than not, I was informed, when the school contacts the home by phone to pick up a sick child, no one is there.

The guidance counselor told me of one extreme case. A child was reported absent for a week by his teacher, and the school notified the district attendance officer to investigate the case. In making the home visit, the attendance officer discovered that the student did not go to school because he had to take care of a younger brother who was ill. The attendance officer also learned that there was no father at home, and the mother worked in Philadelphia. She managed to come home to the children on the weekends every other week. Later on, the school was able to help the mother to stay home by getting the family to receive some assistance from social welfare. Although this is perhaps an extreme case, the fact stands that many immigrant children are latch-key kids and return home to an empty apartment after school.

Another arrangement is for children to go to the factories and stay near their parents at work. One child from the third grade goes to the factory after school each day and all day on school holidays. He told me that he sits next to his mother's sewing machine. He either does his homework or plays with a few other children who are also there. Occasionally when business is slow the children may get a few cardboard cartons from the boss and play make-believe with the boxes. My few trips up to the various factories in the area confirmed the boy's story.

I discussed the problem of working mothers at length with the various members of the school staff. Most agreed that financial hardships faced by most recent arrivals are the reasons for this phenomenon. However, in discussing this issue, most people bring up the neglect of the children when the mother is working.

This was expressed by a teacher. "You can't get the cooperation of these parents when they are both working all day. Sometimes you wonder if they are interested in their children's school work. The parents complain that the children are not given enough homework, but what good is the homework if the child doesn't understand or if there is no one home to help him? For instance, every Friday the children in my class have to take home their folders containing all their school test papers and work. The parents have to sign the papers in the folder indicating to me that they have seen the work. Do you know what I get back on Mondays? The children told me their parents are too busy, and the teacher is really a busy body."

The president of the school's PTA complained that to get people to come out for the various meetings, they have to hold meetings early in the morning at 8:30. The PTA has been frustrated in getting parental participation in working against cuts in the school budget and other causes. The PTA president said the mothers always give the excuse that they have to work and are too busy. In a facetious remark, she felt most mothers would like to see the school day extended from 8 a.m. till 7 p.m. so their children would be cared for while they are working. The school in a way has been serving as surrogate parents. The children start their day in school at 8:30 a.m. with free breakfast. They are also served lunch. After school some one hundred children remain in the after-school center until 6 p.m.

In interviewing some working mothers I became aware of the tremendous financial burden that rests on the shoulders of most recent Chinese immigrants. Take Mrs. Tong. She works as a seamstress (as most of the Chinese females do) at one of the local factories in Chinatown. She had never worked before in Hong Kong. The Tong family consists of an elderly grandmother, the parents, two boys and a little girl. The Tongs live in a third-floor walk-up apartment that costs them $1,000 in key money. (A lump sum paid either to the landlord or previous tenant just for the privilege of renting that apartment.) Mrs. Tong said the family had borrowed money from relatives for part of their air fare, the key money, and some basic furnitures. In total they had racked up a debt of $3,000. Mr. Tong makes about $150 a week from his job at the factory. The monthly rent is $147. Mrs. Tong cannot see how they could get out from under their debts unless there are two earners in the family. Since the grandmother is too old to work, the only thing left was for Mrs. Tong to work. She confided to me that she worries constantly. Should she or her husband become ill there will be no income. Then what will become of the family?

Mrs. Lee told me that she sews in her own home. Since she has a one-year old, it is not possible for her to go out and work. But once again it was the same concern about accumulated debts that forced her to seek work. The Lees, a family of five, came to the United States under Mr. Lee's brother's sponsorship. They left Hong Kong with five suitcases full of clothing. Everything else had to be bought to furnish their new home. First there was the key money of $700 for the third floor walk-up three-room apartment. Then there was the need to buy a refrigerator, table and chairs, bedding, right down to their rice bowls. When it was finished they had a debt of $1,800.

Mrs. Lee began to panic with Mr. Lee only earning about $120 a week. Rent for the apartment was $150 a month. What about food for the family and the extra cost for a special formula for the baby who had developed an allergy? Although a number of factories allowed her to bring the baby to work, dust from the garment factories just aggravated the baby's allergy. So Mrs. Lee was forced to bring the work home. There are disadvantages in working at home because the work contracted out to her consists of unattractive items such as pocket linings and collars. These items do not fetch too much money. The going rate is at the price of four to seven cents per item. She often has to sew late into the hours of the night to earn eight to ten dollars a day. All this effort is expended so that they can finish paying off their debts.

Case after case of similar financial hardships makes it necessary for wives to work to help the family out. Often mothers would complain that working takes too much time away from doing household chores, and that the long hours have begun to turn them into robots and machines. There are mothers who take toddlers to work. There are mothers who have their children join them in the factories after school, while still other mothers will wait for older children to return home from school to mind younger children before going off to work.

Most parents see their work as accepting responsibility for their family's support. The children's job is to get an education. They do not see how they can contribute to helping their children in their school work. The most obvious drawback is that the parents do not speak or write English. Whether the child does well or poorly is his responsibility. As one parent summed it up for me, "I brought my children here to give them a better chance than the one I had. Good or bad it will be what they make of it. The parents also feel that education should be left up to the teacher.

Still another aspect stressed by the school is the overprotectiveness of immigrant children by their parents. I had noticed the unusually large number of parents escorting their children to and from school. I was told by some teachers that Chinese parents in the Chinatown area have always wanted to protect their children from being too Westernized by maintaining a tight control over their children. Here is what one teacher said to me, "The parents are very overprotective of their children. Did you notice that down in the auditorium in the back rows during lunch time there are parents feeding their children -- even the older ones yet. They will not allow their children to go out by themselves. Have you ever seen so many mothers sending and picking up their children? Naturally some fears are justifiable; there are gangs in the local area. But this does not prepare the child to handle and take care himself as he gets older. It's worse yet for the girls; they have absolutely no freedom."

I visited with T. M.'s mother one morning outside of the school when she brought her two boys, an eight and an eleven-year old to school. It was a cold morning. The weather was below freezing. The mother carried a ten-month old infant on her back. The baby was bundled up, and she was rather out of breath from her heavy bundle. I asked her why she would not let the boys come to school by themselves. She was very serious when she said she was afraid for their safety. Just a month ago the son of a friend was beaten up and badly hurt on his way home from school by a local gang member. And not too long ago, another young college student was accidentally shot when he came out of one of the local theaters. She would rather take the trouble to send and pick up the boys than to see any harm come to them. Maybe her fears are genuine. Her two boys have mentioned to me that once home from school they are not allowed to go outside unless one of their parents are with them.

Another mother, a Mrs. Yu, will walk up and down from her sixth floor apartment to send and to pick up her children from school. Each morning either she or her husband will bring their three children to school. At lunch time, she will return with her baby in a stroller, pick up her son from kindergarten and feed him some lunch brought from home. Then she will sit in the auditorium with her two children and wait till three o'clock to pick up the older two. Then all four children and mother will return home. One day I realized that I had not seen Mrs. Yu in her usual seat in the auditorium for a week. Upon seeing her the next time I asked her how things were. She told me that her husband, one of the older girls, and the baby were down with the flu. Since she had no one to help or turn to she did not send the nine and six-year old to school. I asked, "Couldn't the children come to school by themselves?" Her reply was simply she did not feel it would be safe. The Yus live five blocks away from the school.

Another working mother I know has been sending and picking up her three children everyday. When I asked whether this interferes with her working, she told me before she took this job, she made sure it was all right with the boss for her to take off an hour everyday near the end of the school day to pick up her children. She then sees them safely home before returning to work. I asked would she give up her job had her boss not agreed to give her the hour off each day. Her reply was, "Yes." She said it was no joking matter as far as the safety of her children was concerned. Not only she but other co-workers in her factory make similar arrangements to take time off around 3 p.m. to escort their children home from school.

Over and over again in my discussion with parents I felt that their excessive concern and watchfulness over their children was based on strong fears. The children accepted this element of fear in their lives without too many questions and they live with it. However, from time to time in talking with these children and asking them what they missed in their lives in America, most responded that they missed some of the freedom they had overseas.

The phenomena of working mothers and their overprotective attitude toward their children reflect the insecurities, both financial and physical, experienced by immigrant families. If we take

Abraham Maslow's theory of hierarchy of needs, we can say that the Chinese immigrant families are trying to fulfill very basic needs for safety and nurturance. The concern is for one's immediate family. There is an acceptance of existing conditions and a willingness to assume responsibilities necessary to keep one's family together and safe.

Mrs. Lee comes from Hong Kong. She was the sixth of nine children. Her family was not affluent, but with the girls helping in the father's tailoring business the family managed. Mrs. Lee completed the first year of high school. Twelve years ago a matchmaker approached Mrs. Lee's mother with an eligible bachelor whose brother had emigrated to the United States. The matchmaker said that the bachelor would eventually join his brother in America.

At the time of the appearance of the matchmaker Mrs. Lee was corresponding with an upper classmate who had gone to Taiwan to study. She described herself as one of the "modern" young women of Hong Kong. In her mind she had felt sure that she would marry for love, but not so. Within a short time after the matchmaker's appearance, Mrs. Lee was bethrothed and married to Mr. Lee who was ten years her senior. Mrs. Lee's mother had seized upon this union as a key to open doors for other members of the family to come to America. The ultimate goal entailed a long period of waiting. Mr. Lee's brother had to become a citizen first and then file petitions for his relatives. It was almost ten years later before the Lees arrived in the United States in late June 1976. Mrs. Lee still recalled the initial shock of first seeing Chinatown. She was not prepared for the filth and old tenement apartment awaiting them. The years of anticipation and the waiting for the promised land brought keen disappointment when there was nothing but rats and roaches in their new home. She remembered how she cried on her first night, how the children wanted to go home, and how her husband was angry with them.

Her friends had envied her coming to the United States. Her husband who had a blue collar job in Hong Kong was now a stock clerk at one of the meat markets in Chinatown. Everyday he lifts heavy cartons and delivers them to the various restaurants in Chinatown. The work is physically exhausting. Most days her husband is too tired to do much besides sleep after work.

I asked Mrs. Lee what did she expect from America? Her response was, "A nice apartment, modern conveniences, green lawns, and trees." She was definitely not prepared for housing worse than the one she had left behind in Hong Kong. I asked if she would prefer to return to Hong Kong. She said there was no turning back. They had accumulated a huge debt from their immigration. There were lawyer fees, processing fees for the visas, airfare, security for their apartment, and other furnishings. Besides other members of their families are waiting eagerly in Hong Kong for her to get them out. The dream of the "Mountain of Gold" dies hard.

I asked whether or not her brother-in-law had warned her of conditions to be expected in the United States. She said, "Oh yes, the letters told us of the hard work, but we thought it was a put-off to discourage us."

"Do most people in Hong Kong want to leave?" I asked. "Oh yes, definitely. We have friends who have tried every which way to secure visas. Some have tried to go to Canada and from there to the United States. Others have arranged to get visiting visas and once in the United States take their chances on getting permanent residence." The gargantuan efforts which they exert to get here only makes the disappointments that much more difficult to accept.

Invariably the new immigrant steps down in occupational status. Most of the children's fathers now work in the restaurants, the grocery stores, or the garment factories regardless of the type of work they performed previously. Few can obtain work outside of Chinatown because of their language deficiency.

The inadequate and poor housing means overcrowding for most families and there is very little privacy in the homes. In my home visits to apartment after apartment, I saw tiny rooms overcrowded with bunk beds, or in other cases, wall-to-wall mattresses.

The winter of 1977 was one of the coldest winters in New York's history. During that winter, the Chus, a family of six, slept in a 8' x 10' room. Their apartment was a three-room sixth-floor walk-up. The tiny kitchen is about 8' x 10'. In this room there is a television, four chairs, a kitchen table, and two refrigerators. One is broken and the Chus had to purchase a new one recently. The old one serves as a storage cabinet since there is none in the kitchen. A tiny gas stove stands inches from the door with an old sink next to it. There is an electric heater in the center of the room. I was alarmed to find only one electric outlet in the kitchen. It was heavily overloaded with plugs. Since the Chu's apartment was on the top floor, the unmelted snow accumulated during the two previous snowfalls had made the ceilings in the apartment very damp. In a corner of the kitchen ceiling near the pipes, there was a steady drip.

The front room in the apartment overlooking the street had not been used the entire winter; the temperature in that room only differed a few degrees from the temperature outside. There was no heater in this room. Another reason was that Mrs. Chu kept the window next to the fire escape opened a crack because of fear of fire. There had been a fire a few buildings down the block several months ago. Mrs. Chu wanted to be able to open the window so that the family could make its escape quickly. Fear of burning to death was greater than the discomfort of the bitter cold. So all the Chus did their living, eating, and playing in the tiny kitchen and slept side by side next to each other in the 8' x 10' room.

Or take the Chans. They have three sets of bunk beds in a large room. The parents, two boys of 19 and 17, and two girls of 13 and 11 sleep in it. The bathtub is located in the kitchen right next to the front door. Mrs. Chan made a curtain around it. There is really no privacy anywhere. I asked the children in the various classes that I observed whether anyone slept in a room by themselves. Not a one. About half of them have their own beds while the other half usually share a bed with a sibling.

The children have very little room to play in these apartments. I noticed that most of them either sit in front of a television, or in cases where the televisions are near the beds, the children will lie on the beds and watch television. I did not see much other activities that the children did in the apartments. With the increased concern that the streets and the neighborhood are unsafe, most of the children are kept off the streets. So there is only school and going home to very cramped quarters and endless hours of television.

As mentioned earlier there are many homes where both parents worked. In these cases the children have regular chores and sometimes heavy responsibilities. When walking home one afternoon with May, a fifth grader, we stopped off at the factory where her mother works. An older sister from junior high school had already arrived home from school and was sitting next to the sewing machine where her mother was working. An older brother was pressing a garment. Her mother gave May some money and told her some of the things she wanted done for the day. May stopped by a corner grocery not far from the factory where she picked up some eggs and bread. I followed her to the apartment. May washed the dishes in the sink, and swept the floor. Then she gathered the family laundry and we headed toward the laundromat two blocks away. Since May's older sister and brother help at the factory, her job is to take care of the house and get things ready for her mother to cook after work.

Another boy from the sixth grade picks up his younger sister from the afternoon kindergarten session. He takes her home and watches her until the parents come home from work about seven in the evening.

I have described disillusionment, poor housing, and premature responsibilities shouldered by the children. I did not encounter complaints about anything except crimes and violence in the area. Most families accept the conditions they found themselves in and live with them. There is general caring between parent and children. In most of the homes I visited the parents were extremely concerned and tried to look after their children. There was always plenty of food to go around, and children were loved and valued regardless of the financial condition of the parents.

Children and Community

A recent documentary on television showed many Chinese coming off the jumbo jet at Kennedy Airport in New York. When interviewed about their destination they just said, "Chinatown." In face of a strange environment it is human nature to seek out the familiar. Until recent years New York's Chinatown has always been small and an insular place reminiscent of the bygone small towns in America. With the increased influx of immigrants the original boundaries of New York City's Chinatown have expanded. As the community's population increased, the once cohesive, neighborhood quality of the area disappeared. The various kinship associations that had served as a liason for the new arrivals in the past are being replaced by the multiservice agencies in the community. In that sense the transitional period of adjustment for the recent arrivals are no longer in the hands of families or clansmen. The net result is a feeling of impersonalization.

In walking around Chinatown one gets the feeling that it is a business community. Shops, restaurants, and factories are squeezed into every available space. The residents who work in the community live in the community.

In the last decade or so, a number of service agencies have been established to meet the social needs of the residents. These agencies serve all ages from children to the elderly. There are nurseries, after-school centers, health clinics, manpower training centers, mental health agencies, senior citizen centers, street worker programs for the local street gangs, adult education English programs, child welfare agencies, etc. However, recent fiscal cuts have seen a number of agencies curtail their services or close down. The most frequent services sought by the immigrant family are health care and "survival" information (i.e. how to get a social security number, how to get a telephone installed, how to fill out an income tax return, etc.).

Chinatown is a community where most of its residents are concerned about crime. In the various families I interviewed and met the most prevalent concern was for safety. The parents fear that their children will become victims of gang harassments or that their children may join the gangs.

Chinatown is definitely not a neighborhood geared toward children. It originated as an abode for adult males. The streets are narrow, winding and cobblestoned. Only one street, the Bowery approaches the standard street width of 24 feet. Some streets like Pell and Doyer only permit the passage of one car and even the single traffic lane crowds the pedestrians on the three-feet-wide sidewalks. Canal Street, one of the main streets in Chinatown is an east-west thoroughfare leading to the Holland Tunnel. Truck traffic is particularly heavy and a count by the City Planning Commission revealed that traffic volume runs close to 2,000 vehicles per hour (a high volume traffic flow is 500 vehicles per hour). Pedestrian traffic is equally high. On the average,nearly 8,600 people pass through the intersection of Canal and Mott Streets every hour on Saturdays, while 10,000 people pass the intersection of Mott and Bayard which is one block into Chinatown.[2] The volume on Sundays was impossible to count. Anyone who has tried to manuever through Mott Street on Sundays knows that it is like pushing through Times Square on New Years Eve. The traffic volume alone makes it an unsafe area for children.

The congestion, the noise, the high density of population creates another problem, that of garbage and waste. The volume of refuse generated by all these people overflows into the streets and sometimes garbage on the sidewalk makes it all but impassable. The garbage is unsightly and smelly and invites pests and rodents. Rats as big as cats wax fat on the endless food supply and create a health hazard as well as a continual frightening specter for the inhabitants. I nearly jumped out of my seat in the Chu's apartment when a huge rat ran right across my feet.

Real estate is at a premium in Chinatown. It seems that demand for a location is so great that prices are way out of line for rentals. Dilapidated buildings command astronomical prices. An old firehouse sold at auction by the City for $300,000 in 1976. When told that he had paid too much, the successful bidder laughed and retorted, "I was offered $350,000 for it the next day."

The buildings are in advanced stages of disrepair. Many of them are rent controlled so rentals are low, but "key money" is high. Descriptions of the housing conditions were already given above.

When we talk about Chinatown, we refer not only to the original core area of eight city blocks bounded by Baxter, Canal, and the Bowery but to the enlarged boundaries adjoining the core area which stretches from the municipal buildings to the southwest, the East

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[2] New York City Planning Commission. "Chinatown Street Revitalization." 1975. pp 27-29

River on the east, and as far north as Houston Street. The neighborhood is considered part of the Lower East Side, one of the worst slum areas in New York City. Chinatown used to be an island unto itself as if an invisible moat separated it from the teeming immigrants of other nationalities and color. As mentioned earlier, it had few families and few children.

Only one park, Columbus Park, one square-block in area, is found within the boundaries of Chinatown proper. A few peripheral ones are Forsyth Street Park which is more of a "danger zone" rather than a recreational area. A few school play-yards have ball courts, but these are always overcrowded.

As one community leader told me, they never had any problems with the youths in the community until recently. He said, "On the one hand the community was small enough so that one inevitably knew the family that a child belongs to. If you saw the child doing something that you considered wrong, word could be passed quickly back to the parents. In that sense there was community control over behavior. On the other hand, the children knew their place in the community and lived up to the expectations of the adults."

Most of the families I came to know would like to move away from Chinatown. To them it is a place to work or shop for their groceries. There is no attachment to the community in the sense that this is our neighborhood or our street. Once they close the doors to their apartments there is a shut off from the community. Most families do not belong to the existing kinship associations. Families with children especially expressed a desire to move away for the sake of their children. I sensed an urgency to do so especially among families with children in the elementary school levels. They hope to be able to get out of the area by the time their children enter junior high school.

SUBURBIA CHINESE

Children and Schools

Limited housing facilities, exorbitant key money, and crime in the Chinatown area have driven many immigrant Chinese families to seek housing away from Chinatown. In recent years, numerous Chinese families have settled into various sections of Queens County with a large number concentrated in the Jackson Heights - Elmhurst area. In these tree-lined communities, the families have purchased homes. During morning and evening rush hours many Chinese faces can be seen rushing toward entrances to the subways in these areas.

The schools in these Queens areas have shown an increase in Chinese student enrollment. Since a portion of our research dealt with the environmental factor involved in the adjustment process of immigrant children, the natural tendency was to select an area in New York City outside of Chinatown with a large Chinese population. An elementary school in the Elmhurst area met our criteria. The school selected is situated in a neighborhood of private homes and an occasional high-rise apartment complex. This school, too, is an older one built in the 1930s, but two wings have been added onto the main building. The enrollment is approximately 1,100 and this number exceeds the school's capacity. Whereas most schools in New York City have experienced large drops in student enrollment, those that service Asian immigrant groups are filled to capacity.

In 1974, close to 15 percent of the student population was Oriental, and ten percent was Chinese. A little over 50 percent of the students were majority-group whites. Other Spanish, meaning all except Puerto Ricans, made up twenty percent of the pupils. Puerto Ricans and Blacks ranged from five to six percent each. Obviously the school was well integrated.

The attendance record of the school averages above ninety percent. The reading scores are above grade, however, the math scores are slightly below grade. Classes are only from kindergarten to the fifth grade.

As bilingual classes in Spanish are mandated in New York City schools, there are bilingual classes for the Spanish-speaking students, but the Chinese students only have three hours of English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) instruction per week. The usual approach to ESL classes is to pull the student out of his regular classes to attend special language instruction. The school only has a part-time ESL instructor and the children meet with her two days a week.

The content of these ESL classes consist of instruction in the oral language skills of listening, comprehension, and speaking. These are the basics.

In addition, the instructor spends time focusing on the parts of speech that cause the student the most difficulty. In the case of the Chinese students, drills were given on tense and articles.

The goal of ESL instruction is to meet the immediate communication and curriculum needs of the students by providing them with the language skills they need to communicate with teachers and peers, and to receive content matter in English. I interviewed teachers and questioned the pull-out method of ESL. In particular, does a student miss out on subject matter while he goes off to learn English? I was told that it may be a possibility.

As the student is exposed to math, reading, art, and so forth, the student is also exposed to the language used to communicate the content of those subjects. But there is ample evidence in the previous successful adjustment records of other Chinese children as they progressed in the school. English proficiency differs for students coming from Hong Kong and Taiwan, although there are some exceptions. Generally speaking, most of the students from Hong Kong have been exposed to some instructions in English. They come to the school with some knowledge of the alphabet and a limited vocabulary, while the Taiwan students are more deficient in English.

The ESL approach in this school is reported working well for the Chinese students. The external conditions whereby these children receive enough exposure to English outside the school and their being a minority in the community, which forces them to function as a native speaker in a relatively short period of time, may also contribute to the success of the ESL approach.

In the school, everyone seems to be genuinely pleased with the recent Chinese immigrant students. These children have been described as polite, obedient, hard working, and bright. There were some curiosities expressed by a few teachers wishing to know a little about the Chinese school systems overseas. The teachers were impressed with the mathematical competency shown by these students. Although the teachers acknowledged there is a language problem encountered by the immigrant student, most of them reassured me that the children catch up quickly within a year or two. I corroborated this statement when I visited the intellectually gifted children classes of the fourth and fifth grades. There, a number of Chinese children were introduced to me who have been in the United States less than five years. A teacher told me about a boy named George from Taiwan who has been in the United States a little over two years. He is one of the top students in the fourth grade. Apparently the teacher was very impressed with George's phonetic skills. The teacher could give George almost any difficult word and the boy would pronounce it correctly. I took this question up with George one afternoon in the school yard. This is a transcript of our conversation.

R.C.: George, can you tell me how you learned to read English so well?

George: (a little embarrassed by the compliment) I just learn it. I think I speak and read like everyone else.

R.C.: Can you tell me how your head works when you pronounce a word that you've never seen or heard?

George: Do you know Mandarin? Do you know the ping ying fu hao? (a Chinese phonetic system used to help pronounce Chinese characters.)

R.C.: Yes.

George: It's like this. When we started school in Taiwan, we were taught to use the ping ying fu hao. It was written next to all the words to help us pronounce the word. I think I do the same with English words. When I first started school here, the teacher taught us the vowels and consonants of the American alphabet. It reminded me of the ping ying fu hao. So that's how I learn how to pronounce correctly.

I was introduced to other "amazingly bright" immigrant children. Annie was a fifth grader who has been in school five weeks. She started school in March after the school term had already started. She was placed in the slowest class in the grade.* During one lunch period the class teacher showed me some of Annie's test papers and work. On test paper after test paper in math and spelling, one hundred was marked across the top. The teacher said she is very sure that with additional ESL classes in intermediate junior high school which Annie will be attending in the fall, she will catch up in no time at all.

While visiting Annie's family I inquired about the school work.

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* A practise that tends to put a stigma on the new immigrant children.

She thought the math level in the fifth grade American school was equivalent to the math she had in the second grade in Hong Kong. I asked her about the spelling and how was she able to spell all the words correctly on her test papers. She told me that she had to spend an average of five to six hours each day on her homework in Hong Kong. Now her homework takes only an hour or so. She has so much time to memorize a few spelling words, she makes sure she gets it right. Besides every morning another Chinese girl in the same grade tutors her. This tutor lives very near to Annie, so that she can ask her any questions that come up after school.

One of the things that most impressed me in my observations in this school was a peer-group tutoring program. The ESL teacher in the school recruited a group of brighter children volunteers from the fifth grade. They serve as individualized tutors every morning for fifteen to twenty minutes. These students are assigned to all the non-English speaking students from the English Club which is an ESL program. Where possible, a match of similar ethnic background is sought. Each tutor is introduced to the student as well as the student's teacher. These tutors meet once a week with the ESL teacher to find out what lessons the students are working on. If there is any trouble, it is brought up during these meetings. The teacher makes suggestions and recommendations.

The new immigrant children are part of the regular school program and courses. The only help they receive in addition to ESL classes is from the peer tutoring. The content of the ESL lessons are tied to things that are relevant and useful. The topic may be on things associated with the school, the neighborhood, foods in the supermarket, or how to use the telephone to call up friends. These things are immediately useful to the student in negotiating his new environment. Pre-and post-test results show great improvements made by the students in English. Students are usually not retained more than two school years in the English club.

Every morning as one walks through the school corridors there are pairs of heads bending over books and homework outside of the classrooms in the hall. Both the teachers and principal agreed that this system of peer tutoring helps a great deal not only in terms of school work but also in the initial adjustment and orientation period for students coming into a strange school system.

Perhaps it is a reflection of the school's policy for students to be helpful to one another. In any case there is a great deal of friendly outreach by the students to other newly arrived students. Take Gary's case. He is in the second grade. Gary has been here only three months. During the first two weeks I noticed that Gary was shy and withdrawn. He preferred to stand near the wall in the yard after lunch. I chatted with him a few times. He told me about missing his friends back home. Occasionally I would see a few boys from his class asking Gary to join in their games. Each time Gary would shake his head. By the end of the first month while I was making my rounds in the school yard I was hit by a ball. I turned around to see who was responsible. I found Gary looking up at me to say he was sorry. He had lost control of the ball in a game of handball with some of the boys. He was already part of the crowd.

For Annie it was the same. After lunch, she would sit near the school fence. The other girls from her class would ask her to jump rope. Little by little she would join in their games. The girls in Annie's class were very resourceful. Perhaps it started with the teacher who had asked the class to help welcome Annie to the school. At first the girls in the class had asked me to serve as translator for them in the school yard so they could converse with Annie. However, I found that my job as translator did not last very long. A week later the girls were tired of this two-step process to communicate. During my walk I overheard this conversation.

Girl 1: Let's get Annie to teach us Chinese while we teach her English.

Girl 2: Okay, but how?

Girl 1: Let's point to a thing. First we will say it in English, then we can ask Annie to say it in Chinese.

I was approached to explain it to Annie to make sure she understood the girl's plan. I don't know whether this plan continued when I was not there to observe. But I was left with a strong impression that the children in the school were very helpful to the newly arrived immigrant children. I also noticed that these Chinese children did not segregate themselves in the school yard from the main group who sought to make friends with them.

Children and Families

The living conditions of the families in suburbia differed from the ones I encountered inside Chinatown. In Queens the housing is much better. The families live in modern apartment complexes or they rent units in two-family houses. There is separation of living and sleeping quarters in the homes.

A common pattern of immigration history with these families is that the father came to the States first and the mother and children later joined him. For many of the children, the father is a stranger to them, so that adjustment to life in the United States is not only adjustment to a new environment but also of family members getting to know one another all over again.

In the case of Tommy, his father came to the United States seven years ago. Later he was able to get friends in the restaurant to sponsor him for permanent residence as a chef. This took quite a while. Meanwhile, Tommy, his mother, and an elder brother lived comfortably in Taiwan on the remittance sent by the father. When the father got his permanent residence status he sent for his family seven years later. Tommy confided in me that he was afraid of his father.

Mrs. Chi, a plump woman in her early thirties told me she herself was having trouble getting used to having a man around the house. During the early part of their marriage her husband had worked on board freighters as a seaman. There were prolonged separations for them. Between trips Mr. Chi would dock at home for a month or two. Since Mr. Chi had not seen his family perhaps for a year, during those stays it would be like vacations for the family. There were trips to the restaurants and the movies. He would dote on the boys knowing that he would be leaving them soon. Mr. and Mrs. Chi's relationships during these times also lack the abrasiveness of daily contacts. During the six years of his absence while waiting for his papers Mrs. Chi's life style became even more easy going. Her time was spent with visits to friends' homes, shopping, and sitting at the mah jong table.

When the family arrived in the United States, she found that her husband was very demanding. He was impatient with them. He felt she should go to work since the boys were both in school. She was not accustomed to working. He became very strict with the boys demanding that they spend time catching up on English. He still dotes on the boys. The two shiny five-speed bikes are evidence of this. What is happening she feels is that now they have to be a family. Each one must learn to get along with the change. For her it is almost like getting married all over again. She said the older son perhaps is having a much rougher time. She sees less of a problem for Tommy who is younger.

Mrs. Chi's other friends who live in the area are also former seamen's wives. One afternoon when I dropped in for a visit, I found two other wives there too. These women also expressed similar tales of getting used to having their husbands around. They too talked about missing the "easy" lives they left behind. They asked if I knew how to play mah jong, hoping to get a little game started for that afternoon. Needless to say they were a little disappointed when I declined their invitation.

Many of the women in this Queens area did not work outside of their homes. Among the ones with younger children the work they did included baby sitting for other working mothers, knitting on small-scale looms, stringing costume jewelry or doing some light sewing brought home from Chinatown factories. The women with older school-age children work in garment factories in Chinatown. Most of the fathers are in restaurant work, with a few holding office jobs.

The children in this Queens area said their families take them out quite often. These outings are in the form of shopping at the various malls, eating out, visiting parks, and visiting other family friends. An explanation for this difference in activity patterns may be that in the Chinatown area with its unsafe streets, families may be discouraged from going out too often. Also, to travel away from the Chinatown area means using English to negotiate trains and buses. High density population in Chinatown means less playground or recreational facilities, whereas more recreational facilities exist in the Queens area and, therefore, are more accessible for the use of its residents. It was apparent that Chinese families in Queens lived a more balanced life of work and recreation.

From the furnishings found in the various homes I visited it would appear that financially the recent immigrant families living in this area are slightly better off than those living in Chinatown. It must be stressed that my conclusion is based on inference and is not positively proven. The rents in the Queens area are much higher than those in Chinatown. Most of the families I visited live in apartments where the rents ranged from $250 up, while those living in Chinatown paid rents from $100 to $150. However, the Queens residents do not pay key money.

The children in Queens also have more toys and books. For the boys there were new bicycles. I tried to assess the earnings between men in Chinatown and those in Queens. Since most men hold restaurant jobs where often the tips are unreported I was not sure how accurate or truthful their responses were. Generally speaking most men in Chinatown reported earnings between $125 and $150 a week. For the Queens area they reported weekly earnings between $200 and $240. As I've mentioned, these figures came from a small size population, and they were from those who were willing to give me the information. So it is a very selective sample and may not reflect the true earning capacity of the family. Not taken into account either was the family financial resources -- whether the wife worked and whether there were previous savings.

I was surprised to learn that some of the families in Queens came with substantial savings or other forms of financial holdings. The Chins have been in the United States since April 1977. They moved into their one-family home in July 1977. In talking with Mr. Chin I learned that he had worked as a maintenance mechanic aboard freighters for the last twenty-five years. In Hong Kong, Mr. Chin was the owner of an entire top floor of a building. Ten years ago he had contracted with a builder to expand his apartment by building an extra level into the existing roof thus converting his apartment into a duplex. Besides this, Mr. Chin had other realty holdings in another section of Hong Kong. When he came to the United States he sold out his holdings for fifty thousand United States dollars. With this money he was able to purchase a home for his family in Queens.

Mr. Wang owns an efficiency apartment complex in Taiwan. He has twenty-five apartments ranging from one to two bedrooms. He leases these apartments mainly to American military families stationed in Taiwan. However, with the uncertainties of the political situation in Taiwan, Mr. Wang feared that his business would be affected. He sent his wife with their children here to the United States in 1975. He himself left Taiwan in 1976. He has taken a unionized job as a salad chef in one of the larger hotels in midtown Manhattan. He is thinking of going into some sort of small business. At present his younger brother is in charge of his Taiwan apartments. As soon as Mr. Wang settles on a business venture he intends to return to Taiwan to sell out his holdings.

A firm financial base does make a difference and is reflected in Mr. Wen's career change. Mr. Wen and his family came to the United States to join his parents who had migrated eight years earlier. Mr. Wen's parents owned some properties in Hong Kong. He sold those when he came to the United States. His parents thought of opening a family restaurant business when their son joined them. This started a one-year apprenticeship for Mr. Wen at one of the Chinese restaurants in Chinatown. When his training ended the Wens bought a take-out restaurant in Long Island. The restaurant business involved long hours and numerous hardships for the various members of the family. Mr. Wen did not like the role of a cook since he was an office worker in Hong Kong. His mother could not get used to the long hours and heavy lifting in the kitchen. Mrs. Wen did not like leaving the two children with the grandfather who was inexperienced while she helped out as cashier.

After eight months the business was in trouble, but they were able to sell the business to another Chinese family. With the money from the sale, Mr. Wen started thinking seriously about different job options. The family's finances were still in good shape for him to look into possible new job training. Mr. Wen contacted a manpower training program and started a six-month training course in the making of dentures. Now he works in a large laboratory five days a week and is very pleased with his decision.

This merely reinforces the fact that financial resources have definite impact on the children. Parents with financial resources can take away the fears of immediate uncertainty from their children in a new environment. It also means fathers can explore other job options which can result in more leisure time available for them to spend with their families.

It seems that the primary concerns of the families in the Queens area is not so much on the physical safety of their children. Rather, they fear that the children are becoming too Americanized and are forgetting their Chinese heritage. This feeling was voiced by mothers, especially those whose children migrated at a younger age. Mrs. Wang told me that of her three children only the eldest daughter retained some of her Chinese speaking ability. The two younger boys who only went to kindergarten and nursery school in Taiwan have forgotten most of their Chinese.

According to Prof. Sung,[3] today's Chinese immigrants come from two polarized groups as a result of the preference system set up under the immigration laws. Priority is given to family reunification and those with needed skills, good educations, or substantial sums to invest in business ventures. Consequently, we get a large percentage of professionals and upper-middle-class immigrants who migrate because of the political and economic instabilities in Hong Kong and Taiwan. On the other hand, we are seeing the reunification of families of the earlier immigrants who are largely of the lower socio-economic classes. The former do not crowd into Chinatowns. The latter invariably do.

Children and the Community

Preliminary observation seems to reveal that those Chinese who live in Elmhurst area of Queens came directly into the neighborhood without having resided previously in Chinatown. This is a point we want to substantiate with further inquiry. It would dispel some popular notions that Chinatown is a transitional place.

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[3] Betty Lee Sung. A Survey of Chinese American Manpower and Employment. Praeger, 1976. pp. 15-16

In fact, the Jackson Heights-Elmhurst area may be called a satellite Chinatown. The proximity of many Chinese faces, the availability of Chinese stores and services offer the new immigrants the security and comfort of being with their own people.

Contrasted with living in Chinatown, the children have more room to run around in and play. The overwhelming fear that plagues Chinatown families is not present with the parents living in Queens, although recent rumors have it that the gangs are trying to establish a foothold in the area.

The Chinese immigrant children have greater freedom of movement in the Queens community. These children play outside more often after school. The relatively safe streets encouraged more visiting back and forth by the children. Instead of being kept at home after school, I see more children riding their bikes or playing in the playgrounds. The children go to movies with friends or older siblings on Saturday mornings. Since the Chinese children are a small number in this community there are greater opportunities to associate with other non-Chinese children. The children have other role models available to them. This is reflected in conversations I had with the children. Some of the responses to my question of what they wanted to be were very interesting. One boy told me he wanted to be a baseball player. Apparently he and another boy have gone to see many baseball games at the neighboring Shea Stadium. Another boy would like to work for an airline. His neighbor next door works for one of the airlines. As a fringe benefit he and his family can go to many different places at reduced rates. The boy was impressed by the number of side trips his neighbor's family took. He wanted to do the same when he grows up.

Being exposed to different models also applies to parents. Chinese parents see how other families raise their children. They can see households that are not adult-centered. One mother told me she liked the fact that children in the United States are not pushed in school but left to a more natural development. She told me in Hong Kong she had to drive her children to make sure they kept up with their studies and she worried about the entrance examination that her daughter had to take to get into one of the better junior high schools. She likes the way children are treated in the American schools. She feels it is much better for both herself and her children under this less tense atmosphere.

One father told me he is spending more time with his children because he was surprised at the large number of fathers who play with their sons at the sandlot on weekends. He also began to feel that he was losing his son's affections when he found that his son opted to spend more and more time in his friend's house with his friend's father. His son would come home with stories of the games that they played and the fun that they had, and he felt that unless he paid some attention to his son, he was going to lose him.

"It's so different from the way I was brought up," he said. "My father was a very distant figure. I was afraid of him, but American fathers are like friends to their children." He sees himself changing a bit. He will take his children out on his day off, but he told me he hasn't gotten around to the point where he can joke with them. He feels that this lowers his dignity, and he wants to appear dignified in the eyes of his children.

Most of the Chinese immigrant families in this Queens area identify themselves less with the total community, and more with their friends and families in the area. They tend to seek each other's company. When I visited one family living in an apartment complex I would find other Chinese wives in the same building dropping in. The women formed mutual-help groups. If there is a friend who has a car they will drive into Chinatown together to shop or do errands. They also exchanged baby-sitting services when needed.

The life style of Chinese immigrant families outside of Chinatown is vastly different from that within Chinatown, but it also seems that the people who head toward Chinatowns are different to begin with. The Chinatown residents are more likely to be Cantonese-speaking, poorer and perhaps in debt from the huge expenses incurred in coming to the United States, and have little or no knowledge of the English language.

The immigrant families in Elmhurst seem to be more secure financially. They can afford the higher rents or even afford to buy a two- or three-family house. The rents they receive help defray a large part of their housing costs.

Although the types of occupations open to both groups are essentially the same -- restaurant jobs for the men and garment factory work for the women -- it seems that the Elmhurst residents manage to earn higher pay.

Chinatown residents live in perpetual fear for the safety of their children. The Elmhurst residents are concerned that their children will lose their cultural heritage. Children in Elmhurst seem to pick up English faster and are able to catch up with their studies within a relatively short time. They also integrate more rapidly and live in a physically safer environment.

We realize that our studies are based on observations and are preliminary. However, we wanted to point out some of the highlights of our findings and make them available to interested parties as quickly as possible. We intend to continue our research with the upper-grade-level children and eventually try to bring out the differences in cultures that these immigrant children must bridge.

CONCLUSION

Betty Lee Sung

In conducting our research, we did not want to do it without purpose. We were aware that problems were festering among the Chinese, and that these problems were crying for a solution. What did we set out to do? What was our purpose? We felt that the first step was to find out exactly what is happening and to document these findings. We have spent only a little time at this effort, but we felt that what we have uncovered so far needs to be told. We hope that others such as social service agencies, teachers, school administrators, governmental officials, social scientists, parents community leaders, and activists who are deploring so loudly, will take the ball and carry it down the field.

We have served as eyes, ears, and scribe. Now let us summarize some of the findings we have already set forth in this booklet. We are also going to make some recommendations based upon our interviews with parents and with the people closely involved in the schools and the community. Some of these ideas were theirs; we thought they were practical ideas, capable of being implemented. We hope they will be given due attention.

THE FAMILY

FINDINGS: The pulse of the Chinese American family in Chinatown is weak. Poverty saps the energy of this social institution that has traditionally nurtured our children. The cause of this poverty springs directly from debts incurred due to the immigration experience, such as air fare, legal fees, and traveling expenses. Add on to that the fact an entirely new household must be set up when the family arrives in New York, and the dent in the pocketbook becomes a big one. Unusual expenses such as key money contributes to the poverty of the new immigrant family. Consequently both parents must work for financial reasons. This gives rise to lack of parental presence. Children are left to fend for themselves. The babysitter is the television set.

Disillusionment also pervades the family. The hoped-for dreamland is not what the immigrants envisioned. Large families live in cramped, dilapidated housing. There is little privacy or comfort in the homes.

In suburbia, some of the above problems are not as pressing. The rents are higher, but a sizable lump sum is not demanded as key money at the outset. Better housing creates a better home atmosphere. The men also seem to command a higher wage outside of Chinatown.

> RECOMMENDATIONS: Since the family itself is undergoing the shock of transplantation, it is weakened in its efforts to provide a healthy home atmosphere for the children. It is not that the parents don't care. They do. Whatever failings they exhibit come more from ignorance, cultural conflicts, and insecurity rather than lack of parental concern. The families, themselves, need help in their transitional stages. Rather than suggest more day-care centers or the like which would separate the parents and children even more, we would like to see the family strengthened. One way is to make it more financially secure. Another is to move out of Chinatown to places where they will not feel totally isolated from their own people, such as the suburban community we observed in this study.
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> To accomplish this, it is recommended that a housing counseling center be set up to guide new immigrants in their choice of housing and furnishings. The counselors should advise the newcomers to refrain from paying key money and show them how to set up a new household with a minimum of expense. Since a large portion of accumulated debts arise from the expenses related to these two items, that should ease the financial burden of the families somewhat.
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> The other recourse is to increase income. My book, A Survey of Chinese American Manpower and Employment (Praeger, 1976) dealt extensively with the need to broaden the occupational range of the men who are employed primarily in restaurants and the women who are found in the garment industry. Employment counselors from the State Employment Service should be allocated to work with the new immigrants and help them find employment that will require shorter hours and more adequate pay.
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> It is believed that the propensity of the Chinese to concentrate in a few occupations is due in large part to lack of knowledge of job opportunities. In other words, these people need re-channeling.

THE SCHOOL

FINDINGS: In our fieldwork, we came to realize that the school is now the most important influence and social institution in the Chinese children's lives. The children spend more time in school interacting with their teachers and peers than they do with their families. For many, it is from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. Two out of three daily meals are taken in school. Often the teacher or school personnel are the first to notice that a child needs medical attention. The school not only tries to educate these children, but it must also provide the socialization, the recreation, the supervision, and the feeding of these children as well. It is a tall order to hand the school.

The parents are perfectly willing to entrust their children to the school, and they have great faith in it. However, there are missing links between the school and the parents. In the Chinatown schools, we could sense that the teachers and administrators feel a great emotional attachment to the Chinese children. School personnel are more involved in community functions after school hours. However, the parents are content to let the schools run things without much input. As a result the goals in upbringing sometimes diverge, and cultural conflicts are often bewildering to the children who are taught one thing at home and another at school.

RECOMMENDATIONS: As the schools find themselves in the position of surrogate parents, society should recognize the enlarged role that the schools are playing and provide them with the resources to discharge these extra functions. Obviously, the weakened families need the supportive services of the schools. And the schools are the most accessible institution to reach the children for preventive intervention in warding off any possible adverse influences in their lives.

FINDINGS: The language barrier is the first and most formidable barrier of the Chinese immigrant children at the beginning. It is the school's job to teach them English as quickly as possible. Unfortunately, special language instruction for the Chinese is not a regular part of the school curriculum. Special ESL or bilingual classes have come primarily from special grants from the State or Federal governments. And these have been instituted only recently. In fact, most within the past year. Children who attend school outside of Chinatown get little or no special language instruction. Parents and teachers are not in agreement on bilingual education, but it is too early to make any meaningful evaluation of the curriculum or classes.

RECOMMENDATIONS: An alternative to ESL or bilingual education is to put the new immigrant children in a special non-graded class and give them intensive language training until they are able to function adequately in a regular classroom. Funding for the language classes should be part of the regular school budget.

THE COMMUNITY

FINDINGS: Two Chinese communities were studied, one in Chinatown and one in suburbia. In suburbia, the Chinese generally owned or rented apartments in two-family homes that were fairly substantial. Yet, the people did not lack many of the amenities of a Chinese community such as grocery stores, churches, and the proximity of other Chinese families.

The most noticeable feature of life in Chinatown was the pervasiveness of fear. Young boys are constantly threatened, sometimes by their own kind who want to recruit them into gangs and sometimes by other ethnic groups who pick on them.

RECOMMENDATIONS: The whole crime problem in Chinatown is interwined with population congestion, poor housing, frustration and disillusionment, lack of parental supervision, poverty, lack of recreational facilities and job opportunities for teenagers, and the evil influence of the predatory associations that back the criminal element.[4] The problem must be tackled from all these angles, but the overwhelming fear among the Chinatown residents can be alleviated through changes in the judicial system. Only when it is possible for a person to give evidence and testimony without the threat of drastic retaliation will the people dare to come forward and report the crimes and identify the perpetrators. At present, they have no such concrete assurances. For the police to say, "Come forth and tell us," is not sufficient, if the perpetrators are out on the streets within a short time to exact their revenge.

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4. For more comprehensive treatment of this topic see Betty Lee Sung "Gangs in New York's Chinatown", Dept. of Asian Studies, City College New York, 1977.

FINDINGS: The physical environment of Chinatown leaves much to be desired. Over ninety percent of the housing stock in the area was built before 1935, and about half was built before the turn of the century. The tremendous influx into Chinatown has brought about acute congestion and overcrowding.

RECOMMENDATIONS: A construction program to renovate the dilapidated housing in Chinatown is needed. Several times in the past, the City Planning Commission has instituted studies to redevelop Chinatown. The community itself has a Chinatown Advisory Committee that drew up detailed plans and models for redevelopment. So far, nothing has been implemented. Local merchants and those with vested interests fear that urban renewal or construction will disrupt their businesses, but unless some steps are taken soon, Chinatown will be headed for self-destruction.

Since recreational facilities are so lacking in Chinatown, it is recommended that the Chinese children be taken out of the ghetto periodically for trips uptown to visit with other peer groups in churches, YMCAs, camps, and other social settings. The children should be exposed to people and places outside of the community. They should have other role models and experience other activities.

FINDINGS: The social institutions that once served the Chinese are now outmoded and obsolete. Yet new institutions have not risen up to take their place. The organizations that used to tie the community together have lost their following and purpose, and they are too tradition-bound to revitalize themselves, In fact, some of these organizations have turned predators. Yet, the new community groups do not have the broad base community support necessary to provide the strong leadership that is now needed.

The community needs young blood -- people who are conversant in Chinese and English, who are knowledgeable about community politics, who can get factions moving, who are fearless and dedicated, and who can move the Chinese from the past into the present.

RECOMMENDATIONS: Leaders must be trained in the history, and the community interactions of the Chinese in the United States. Asian American courses should accomplish this. The true facts must be uncovered by research. Government officials, funding agencies and young activists cannot simply dump the old without replacing it with something better. They should recognize that in the Chinese community there are ceremonial leaders and people who are trying to get things done. Differentiate between the two. Accord the elders the traditional "face," but support the doers. To upstage the ceremonial leaders at this point would be to churn up a power struggle, split the community, and keep it from the important tasks at hand. The community cannot afford this kind of conflict.

In our study, our findings, and recommendations, we may have dwelled too much on the pathological. In conclusion, let us say that we found strengths and commendable qualities in the people trying to make the best of a terrible situation. The decision to migrate to the United States was an irreversible one. The newcomers are glad to be here. We heard few complaints from the immigrants themselves. These people were determined to make good by the only way they knew how -- by hard work. Yet, hard work in itself is not enough. To plan, but first to know, is a must.

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"NORMALIZATION," U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, AND DOMESTIC LINKAGES

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I hope to discuss the question of United States policy toward China--encompassing the "normalization" of relations with Peking and the future of Taiwan--from the standpoint of "linkage" politics. By definition, the "linkage" perspective looks at foreign policy by examining its domestic political implications. Various foreign policy issues may compete for the attention of the policy-makers and for priorities on our foreign policy agenda. Where two issues have the likelihood of provoking their respective opponent blocs to act in concert to block the adoption or smooth sailing of both issues, good political sense may dictate that the Administration present the issues separately to public and/or Congressional debate. Another advantage in carefully "managing" the foreign-policy calendar is that the resolution of one key issue may create a breakthrough effect for other issues to follow in its wake. To the extent that policy managers are conscious of these political implications, moreover, their negotiating stance and behavior vis-à-vis foreign governments may also be affected accordingly. These and other problems can be examined in studies on domestic and foreign-policy linkages.

Put in a larger frame of reference, orchestration in foreign-policy making and in diplomatic negotiations involves tie-ins and trade-offs between issues (i.e., "linkage"). Competing priorities, on the other hand, may require the deliberate separation of issues (i.e., "dis-linkage") in the domestic political process. Linkage and dislinkage are, in this sense, almost two sides of the same coin.

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"Normalization" and "Dislinkage"

While the panel for which this paper is written will address the question of linkage and dislinkage as a whole, I hope to focus on the following questions in regard to our China policy: (a) To what extent domestic politics has or has not colored the Carter Administration's handling of the "normalization" question thus far; (b) Whether some of the above "linkage" implications have affected our negotiation or policy making with regard to our relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC); and (c) Whether factors other than domestic politics have also played a role in the Carter Administration's policy toward Peking.

Essentially, the practical purpose of this paper is to examine the thesis that the "normalization" question was on the back burner through much of the latter part of 1977 and at least the spring of 1978, because the White House was both (a) preoccupied with the Panama Canal treaties before Congress, and (b) awary of the treaties' foes possibly joining hands with opponents to "normalization," which would have doomed the Canal treaties. It was commonly felt that while the Canal treaties' foes may not be all averse to our "normalizing" relations with Peking, those opposed to "normalization" might not be favorably disposed to the Canal treaties and might find common cause with the opponents of the treaties, if "normalization" was also a live issue at the same time.

I have little quarrel with this basic thesis although, as I shall explain below, it may not fully account for the relative low profile given to "normalization" in the past several months. An empirical examination shows that the question of "normalization" was not even among the top-priority items in the Administration's foreign policy calendar for 1978. In a recent report to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State

Cyrus Vance listed the following top-agenda items for the current year, obviously in descending order: (a) approval of the Panama Canal treaties; (b) SALT II negotiations; (c) peace making in the Middle East, southern Africa, and the Horn; (d) promoting human rights; (e) reducing U.S. dependence on foreign oil; and (f) spurring international economic recovery and development.[1] In contrast, the 1977 foreign policy agenda listed "normalization" as the No. 4 item, following only nuclear non-proliferation, SALT II, and agreements with Western industrial partners.[2]

In a speech on April 11, 1978, a week before the Senate was to approve the second of the two Panama Canal treaties (after having approved the first treaty on March 16), President Carter confirmed the "normalization" issue was in eclipse. Though the main thrust of his speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors was on fighting inflation, the President declared in response to a question: "We recognize that it is for the best interest of our own nation to have full diplomatic relationships with China, and my hope is that over a period of months--we're not in a big hurry, neither are the People's Republic of China leaders--that we will completely realize the hopes expressed in the Shanghai communique."[3]

Two things seem clear from a careful reading of the rather ambiguous statement by the President. In the first place, the urgency with which "normalization" was associated from Carter's campaign speeches in 1976 to Secretary Vance's visit to the PRC in August, 1977, seems to have abated for the moment. While normal relations with Peking remained a goal, the Administration seemed to adopt a "no hurry" attitude, though justified on the ground that Peking's leaders were in no hurry to solve the problem. Secondly, while there was no definite timetable, the President hoped that "over a period of months" the aspirations expressed in the Shanghai communique signed by President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai would be "completely" realized. That peculiar timing would place it at some time shortly after the ratification of the Panama Canal treaties. Sure enough, on April 26, a week after the treaties were out of the way, it was unexpectedly announced that Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's national security adviser, was to visit China in late May. Here we are compelled to accept the dislinkage thesis that the "normalization" issue had been deliberately held off from public view for as long as the Senate was seized with the approval of the Canal treaties.

However, besides the obvious, I would like to raise the question whether the official "no hurry" stand on the "normalization" question can be linked to other reasons as well. Sometimes, there is only a thin line separating tactics and strategy. Tentatively removing the issue from public view, and even feigning lack of interest, may have been necessary tactical moves. But, could the temporary eclipse of the "normalization" issue reflect a shift in strategy? I propose to explore the larger conceptual basis of Washington's current foreign policy thinking, as can be deduced from official behavior and pronouncements, in order to answer this question.

"Normalization" in the Kissingerian Design

The present Administration's foreign policy seems to be built on a number of premises, most of which contain an implicit or explicit critique of some of the fallacies or inadequacies of the Kissingerian legacy. Elsewhere I have offered a rather extensive evaluation and critique of the Kissingerian legacy;[4] and here I wish only to touch on a few points appropriate for the present discussion.

Kissinger was reacting to circumstances which could be best described as the obsolescence of the containment policy of the 1950's and 1960's, and the inadequancy of U.S. power in coping with the world's problems in the face of rising Soviet nuclear capability to a position of parity, and the gradual but steady global diffusion of power, which had followed and reinforced the collapse of the earlier bipolar system. Instead of relying on preponderance of power as before, Washington had to fall back on balance of power in the conduct of foreign policy. But, Kissinger's blueprint was taken from 19th century European diplomatic experience, more especially the Bismarckian design of "supergame" diplomacy based on a web of balancing bilteral relationships involving the major powers,to the exclusion of other actors. Kissinger's approach likewise limited his brand of balance of power to a very small circle of essential actors, which tended at times to focus mainly on the U.S.-USSR-PRC triangle. It was practiced with as much personal forcefulness and conviction as Bismarck had once personally dominated the European scene. Kissinger's penchant for secrecy, too, recalls the standard practice in the personal diplomacy conducted between European monarchies. His tendency to neglect the temporal dimension--i.e., that time had changed and so had circumstances--both fueled the Kissingerian zeal for the 19th-century balancing game and accounted for some of his more dismal failures.

Without derogating from his achievements and his intellectual brilliance, I wish to single out a few of Kissinger's failures if only doing so would make us wiser in the future and help illuminate our discussion of Washington's current foreign-policy design. In the first place, the preoccupation with only the essential super-actors was responsible for Kissinger's obvious neglect for the potential usefulness of the intermediate or regional powers in the playing out of the balancing game with Moscow and Peking. The triangular fixation narrowed Kissinger's choice to between Moscow and Peking as either ally or foe; and, when Moscow's power was the more threatening at the time, his choice had already been made for him. The premise inherent in the "opening" to China--that China was strong enough to be played against Moscow but weak enough not to threaten the United States--contained the same negelct for (future) change in time. There was no provision for the eventuality when, at time-$_{n}$, China's power could conceivably be a threat to both the Soviet Union and the United States. There was no anticipation, therefore, that the United States might need back-up support that could be tapped among the intermediate powers outside the narrow circle of the three nuclear giants.

The same fixation made Kissinger so anxious to dispose of the Taiwan question that he was ready to accept the original Chinese wording for the Shanghai communique, which would have explicitly and irretrievably committed the United States to abandoning the island to Peking without any compensating concessions in return. Only Nixon's masterful interjection of fuzziness restored flexibility to the United States and changed the wording to read: "The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves."

To Kissinger, China must be induced to continue its collision course with the Soviet Union. If the Taiwan question could be resolved once for all for Peking, then China's leaders would be relieved of all their woes and worries along the southern borders (including the Vietnam war, which had just been ended) and then could devote full attention "northward" against the Soviets. Although the implicit premise that in foreign policy the decision-maker's attention is so limited that he can deal with only one issue at a time is alarming, this instance seems to confirm that some of the "linkage" (and "dislinkage") assumptions did at times affect the policy making or negotiating behavior of our foreign-policy managers.

The Post-Kissingerian Foreign Policy Design

Although there is no one central place to look for an authoritative and unequivocal statement on Washington's foreign policy today, it appears that there is an acute awareness among Carter's inner circles of the deficiencies in the Kissingerian legacy just mentioned. Perhaps nowhere is this borne out more concretely than in the rationale or philosophy behind the series of orchestrated top-level official visits abroad, starting with President Carter's two recent extended trips. Brzezinski spelled out that philosophy most coherently in his briefing with reporters on December 20, 1977. Enunciating the rationale behind the President's trips, the national security adviser gave a diagnosis of the long-range changes in the global reality since World War II, drew a conclusion on their implications for U.S. foreign policy, and prescribed a heavy dosage of response. Because of the importance of the Brzezinski statement, we shall discuss its content at some length.

The Presidential adviser proceeded with the most level-headed recognition of the postwar decline in Western power, starting with decolonialization and culminating in the West's deepening dependence on vital resources from the less-developed world. On the eve of World War II, Brzezinski noted, the West controled 80% of the world's land mass and 75% of the world's population. By the end of the century, in contrast, 80% of the global population will be living in the "southern arc," consisting of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. This drastic demographic shift, along with other changes, has ominous implications for the West, requiring immediate remedial action.

The reality of the world in the 1970's, Brzezinski continued, is one in which power is diffused, among four basic groups: (a) the advanced world, including the industrial West and Japan; (b) the Communist world; (c) the world of the relatively rich but still developing countries (particularly the OPEC nations and a few of the more successful developing countries, Taiwan, South Korea, etc.); and (d) the four world of the "global poor." With this diffusion of power, the United States can no longer dictate, nor can it narrow itself to playing merely a supergame limited to the "big boys."

The instinct of survival dictates that the United States must not allow itself to get into a situation where East-West conflicts (i.e., supergame conflicts involving our national security) and North-South conflicts (i.e., subgame conflicts involving the industrial countries' access to resources) converge to tap the United States' responsive capacity. The foremost task for U.S. foreign policy is, in simplest terms, how to rally together the three non-Communist worlds on the U.S. side. In so doing, however, the United States must anticipate and accommodate the growing political awareness, or, in Brzezinski's words, "rising crescendo," among countries in the South Arc, and make the best of the Sino-Soviet division and the general contradictions within the Communist world. On the last point, Brzezinski was ratner circumspect but conveyed the idea effectively. The important thing here is the clear departure from the Kissingerian supergrame scenario. Supergame balance still has its role, but it is to be played within the larger, truly global, context, in which the United States will do its utmost to enlarge the pool of real or potential back-up allies beyond the immediate triangular tangle of the United States, the Soviet Union, and China. The new scheme may be called, for lack of a better term, a "backup balance of power" policy.

In pronouncing the new policy stance, Brzezinski probably spoke for the current Administration's conviction that the earlier U.S.'s "Atlanticist connection" (that is, more or less exclusive economic and military alignment with Western Europe) is no longer enough. This, unmistakably, registers a blatant criticism of Kissinger's "New Atlantic Charter," to the extent that the latter had been conceived by its architect to reforge the bonds of the industrial countries in an attempt to combat the mounting threats and pressures from the less developed countries (LDC's), especially those with the capability to cartelize their vital primary commodities. Unlike his predecessor, Brzezinski unabashedly acknowledged the growing importance of the South Arc and stressed that the growth of an increasingly interdependent global community had amalgamated political and economic (qua resources) power. If the West is not to lose out with the South Arc, he stressed, the United States and the industrial countries must be more attentive to the LDC's needs, including the acceptance of a wider economic system (such as the New International Economic Order) in which the LDC's will find increasing stakes and greater parity with the industrial powers.

But to align with the three non-Communist worlds is not to return to the bipolar era, locking the Communist and the non-Communist camps in a zero-sum conflict. The new scenario openly accepts the premise of ideological pluralism, although the United States must take the initiative to cope with the Communist competition. Since that competition is the most crucial of all competitions, and since it is a global competition, the U.S.'s response must likewise be global. Hence, the President's trips took him to selected representative countries in each of the "four worlds" that Brzezinski distinguished. The trip to Africa, the first ever by an American President, must be understood in the light of this global scheme, as the cultivation of a West-South alliance requires the combination of subgame with supergame strategies. The more recent mission by Cyrus Vance to Moscow via Southern Africa, Vice President Walter Mondale's visit to Southeast Asia and Southwest Pacific in early May, and Brzezinski's visit to China, South Korea, and Japan later in the month--plus Carter's April 27 decision to sell uranium to India, overturning a negative recommendation by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission[5]--all this fits beautifully into the "backup balance of power" design as already defined.

"Normalization" and the New U.S. Foreign Policy Design

The review above is to set the stage for our discussion of where "normalization" stands in 1978 and the possible reasons for its temporary eclipse. We raised the question whether, other than "dislinkage" due to domestic politics, the eclipse could be explained by a strategic shift in the larger U.S. foreign policy thinking. We have found rather significant shifts in this regard, and now we shall see how they bear on the "normalization" question.

The nexus of U.S. foreign policy, as we find, is no longer exclusively the Washington-Moscow-Peking tangle, but rather how to achieve a West-South alliance. The United States will endeavor to preclude the Communist exploitation of the South Arc against the interests of the West. Given this new nexus, China, like the Soviet Union, is perceived as a possible rival of the United States in the South Arc, although the course of the two Communist giants may collide. This shift in perception, from Kissinger's preoccupation with China being a counterweight against the USSR (hence, potential ally of the United States), has also changed the relative usefulness of China for the United States, though not its importance in world politics.

On the other hand, the current concern for enlarging the pool of backup power chips for the United States in the eventuality of a showdown with the Communist giants has increased the relative weight of some of the intermediate powers, such as Venezuela, Brazil, Nigeria, India, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, etc. Brzezinski even specifically mentioned Taiwan by name, along with South Korea, as examples of the "relatively rich but developing countries" in a class unto itself. When the chips are down, when backup is needed, the logic in the new scenario seems to anticipate the United States drawing upon the backup power of the intermediate actors, at least some of them, to strengthen the U.S.'s hand in playing the balancing game.

As if anticipating the potential growth in China's power, Brzezinski in a separate speech, to the Japan Society on April 27, even declared that "no relationship in our foreign policy is more important" than that with Japan and "none demands more careful nourishment." The consciousness of the U.S.'s needs for backup power invariably led to the concept of "careful nourishment" of relations with countries from which booster support is expected. Someone less attuned to the idea of backup power would probably be less sensitive to the necessity of retaining reserve power chips against a rainy day.

Translated to the "normalization" problem, Washington will probably be less disposed to relent on the three demands insisted upon by Peking without either compensating quid pro quo or assurances satisfactory to the United States. Peking's three conditions for the establishment of full diplomatic relations would require the United States to sever its diplomatic relations with Taiwan, abrogat~~ion of~~e the U.S.-Taiwan mutual security treaty, and ~~complete~~ pull-out ~~of~~ the remaining U.S. forces from the island. Returning to our original question of the domestic political linkage, I think it is clear that the new stance taken by the Carter Administration runs counter to the wishes of those who advocate accepting Peking's terms in order to bring about "normalization" speedily. It is equally clear the Taiwan question remains a hurdle, from the domestic political perspective, that must be cleared if Carter is to account for his action to the American public.

Public opinion polls have consistently found strong sentiments in support of establishing full relations with Peking, but also equally strong (or stronger?) sentiments against "sacrificing" Taiwan. The cumulative data indicate the following percentages in support of "normalization":

1971: 55% (Harris poll)
1975: 61% (Gallup poll)
1976: 64% (Foreign Policy Association poll)
1977 (April): 62% (Potomac Associates poll conducted by Gallup)
1977 (August): 56% (Gallup poll)

But, in each case an even larger majority favored continuing U.S. diplomatic relations with the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan, as can be seen below:

1971: Not Available
1975: 70% (Gallup)
1976: Not Available
1977 (April): 68% (Foreign Policy Association)
1977 (August): 64% (Gallup)

An overwhelming majority of the public polled also opposed Peking's demand that the United States break its formal ties with Taiwan as a precodition for "normalizing" relations. A breakdown shows that only 10% in 1975 (Gallup),26% in 1976 and 33% in 1977 (Foreign Policy Association), 28% in April, 1977 (Potomac Associates), and 8% in August 1977 (Gallup) favored the derecognition of the ROC on Taiwan as condition for recognizing Peking.[6]

If the general ignorance of the respondents should throw doubt on the reliability of the public's judgment (for example, 56% in the Potomac Associates poll did not know whether or not Taiwan's government was Communist; and 1/3 did not know if Peking had a Communist government), a more recent Brown University poll conducted among "opinion leaders" produced results more than confirming the previous polls. While 89% of the "opinion leaders" polled supported "normalization," an even greater majority, or 93%, believed that the United States should not accept Peking's three conditions. Some 72% were convinced that U.S. derecognition of Taiwan and disengagement from the island would hurt U.S. leadership and credibility in Asia. A solid 67% doubted that Taiwan could survive Peking's economic and military pressures without outside assistance. This certainly disagrees with the estimates of some of the strong advocates of speedy "normalization," who feel that Taiwan is politically, economically, and militarily strong enough to survive the switch in U.S. recognition and the termination of the mutual security treaty.[7]

The Brown University survey, headed by Professors Ying-mao Kau and Pierre M. Perrolle, polled members of U.S. Congress, members of the Democratic and Republican national committees, state governors, state legislative leaders, state party chairmen of both major parties, newspaper publishers and editors, and executive officers and news directors of television stations. It is noteworthy that few significant differences separated the Democrats, Republicans, and independents in their responses.[8]

Prospects for "Normalization"

The strong bipartisan agreement in most of the answers in the Brown University poll confirms that a more conservative or cautious approach to "normalization" with China has rather formidable backing in Congress, as 31% of U.S. Senators and 22% of U.S. Congressmen were among the respondents. Although unlike the Panama Canal treaties the "normalization" move does not require Congressional approval, strong negativism in Congress could spell trouble, in the sense of "linkage" politics, should Carter choose to ignore Congressional sentiments on the issue. What is the future of "normalization," then?

It appears that the prospects of "normalization" would depend either on a drastic turnabout in the Administration's attitude--with all its domestic repercussions--or alternatively on Peking's modifying its stand. It is important to note that among the "opinion leaders" polled, a high percentage, 89%, supported "normalization" with Peking only if "independence and freedom" of Taiwan be not "jeopardized." Only a fraction of the same sample, 4 to 6%, would submit to Peking's demand that the United States maintain only "unofficial" ties with Taiwan. A substantial number of the opinion leaders polled, ranging from 38 to 52%, favored flexibility and accommodation in negotiating with the PRC on guaranteeing the essence of security and peace for Taiwan. Yet, even among this group, 69 to 76% believed that Washington should insist on the higher, rather than the lower, option if the choice is (a) over establishing a liaison office or leaving a consular office in Taipei after the United States has switched recognition to Peking, (b) giving formal versus informal security guarantees for Taiwan in that eventuality, or (c) over honoring all current economic and cultural treaties with Taiwan or just a select list of these agreements after "normalization" with Peking.

Compared to the Gallup, Harris, and the other polls conducted among the general public, the opinion-leaders poll produced results showing much stronger support for Taiwan in all issue areas. Although there was no systematic data to explain the wider margin, Kau and Perrolle ventured some putative answers, based on 20 some unsolicited letters from respondents and about the same number of telephone conversations. Some of these are pertinent to our discussion here:

(a) All opinion leaders, regarless of their political persuasion, were well informed, showed a uniformly high level of personal interest and concern over the "normalization" dilemma, and considered Taiwan important for U.S. policy in Asia; and

(b) The majority of the opinion leaders polled, while deploring the delay on "normalization," put the blame on Peking's obduracy in insisting on the three conditions. Few believed that the benefits that might accrue from the establishment of full diplomatic relations would justify U.S. acceding to those conditions.[9]

I would like to pick up the last point first. From these findings there seems to be a realization, among the opinion leaders [illegible], that "Normalization I," as it were, has already been achieved [illegible] signing of the

Shanghai communique in February, 1972, and with the subsequent establishment of the liaison office in each other's capital. There is practically nothing that the United States cannot achieve under the present arrangement without rushing to what amounts to "Normalization II," that is, derecognizing Taiwan in favor of Peking. The general hesitancy shown in the poll data seems to reflect a feeling that there is no guarantee that U.S.-PRC relations in the post-Normalization II era will be more auspicious than what has prevailed before. Equally, there is the feeling that while Normalization I was achieved because there was a convergence of interests between Peking and Washington, the hurdles to Normalization II were largely of Peking's own making, with its stubborn insistence on the three conditions in their present form.

If this reading is valid,then the remedy to these hurdles, it follows, is hardly through domestic politicking or re-educating the public in the United States to conform to the wishes of advocates of speedy "normalization" under the present circumstances. Rather, the answer lies in "strategic bargaining," or changing Peking's perception and playing a reverse Sibylline Books game. In acient mythology, the prophetess Sibyl of Cumae offered Tarquin the Proud, last of the legendary kings of Rome, nine books containing prophecies. Tarquin thought the price too high. Sibyl burned three of the books and offered the remaining six at the same price. When Tarquin refused again, she burned three more. Fearing that she might destroy them all, Tarquin bought the last three books at the price originally offered for nine. In insisting on its professedly non-negotiable three conditions, Peking has acted as though it was playing Sibyl to us. Whether we can convince Peking's leaders that "normalization" contains values quite different from what the Sibylline Books had meant to Tarquin would determine the chances of our success in changing Peking's perception on the entire question.

I would return to the first point suggested by Kau and Perrolle. Although the strong sentiments expressed by the opinion leaders polled could mean a source of domestic trouble for Normalization II if Carter acts too speedily and summarily (that is, without proper provision for Taiwan's future, etc.), the data could also be used to strengthen Washington's hand in negotiating a mutually acceptable formula with Peking. The enormous strength (93%) of the opinion leaders in the Brown University poll, including members of Congress, who opposed Peking's current three conditions can be cited as irrefutable evidence, in our negotiations with the Chinese, why President Carter cannot possibly accept the three conditions as currently conceived. Only when Peking's perception is changed--and that will come only if it can be convinced of the impossibility of U.S. acceptance of the present terms--will its leaders come to grips with a revision of their conditions. Here, our domestic political process, our ability to alter Chinese perception, and China's domestic politics (to the extent revision of the three conditions involves domestic consensus) are all linked to the future of Normalization II.

In answer to the question raised before as to whether the impasse over "normalization" was due to domestic politics, I think it can be concluded that domestic "dislinkage" offers only part of the answer. Another part of the answer, no less important, lies in (a) a shift in the White House's strategic thinking on foreign policy, to such an extent that China now has a different value for the United States, and (b) Peking's own stubbornness in regard to its three conditions.

This paper would be incomplete without offering a few remarks on what we Asian-Americans think Washington should do in negotiating with the PRC on a solution to the "normalization" question. Elsewhere I have proposed the formula of switching our embassy in Taipei with our liaison office in Peking.[10] I shall not repeat it here, but merely wish to suggest a few points, taking in view Washington's new directions in foreign policy and the American public's sentiments as revealed in the cumulative public opinion data: (a) We should not let red-herring issues detract us from the "normalization" course, or, in our terminology, completing Normalization II; (b) we should not content ourselves with merely starting from the lowest denominator, e.g., the "Japan Formula"; (c) we should not stop short of explicitly pronouncing what status we wish to confer on the existing treaties and agreements between the United States and the ROC when our recognition of the latter is withdrawn; (d) we should not accept any tacit understanding with Peking which would leave things dangling for the moment, only to haunt us in the future, especially regarding peace and tranquillity in the Taiwan area; and (e) we should not forget to counterpropose, in return, such as on the question of future U.S. arms sales to Taiwan after "normal" relations have been installed with Peking.

Last but not least, when faced with Sibylline threats to burn the last three books during the course of our negotiations with Peking, we might take to heart what Hanoi's leaders did and how they fared under the U.S. bombings during the Vietnam war. Hanoi refused to compromise its position at time-$_0$ when it could have saved all its power stations from U.S. aerial destruction; after relentless U.S. bombings, Hanoi had less reason to capitulate at time-$_1$, when only one third of its power stations were left. Peking burned the first three books in 1975, when it drastically reduced trade with the United States, and then burned the next three books when it turned incooperative and began to threaten the possible forcible "liberation" of Taiwan, although the severity of the language used has varied over time. It remains to be seen how Washington is to extricate itself from the Tarquin dilemma into which Peking's leaders have been trying to force us.

NOTES

[1] See U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, rlease dated March 2, 1978: "U.S. Foreign Assistance Programs for Fiscal Year 1979," p. 1.

[2] See Secretary Vance's speech before the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, U.S. Dept. of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, release dated January 13, 1978: "Foreign Policy Decisions for 1978," p. 2.

[3] New York Times, April 12, 1978, p. A17.

[4] See my paper "U.S. Relations with China in the Post-Kissingerian Era: A Sensible Policy for the 1980's," delivered at the first annual meeting of the Asian-American Assembly for Policy Research, in April, 1977; later published in the Asian Survey, Vol. XVII, No. 8 (August 1977), pp. 691-710.

[5] New York Times, April 28, 1978, p. 1.

[6] For a discussion, with the cumulative data, of these points, see Michael Y.M. Kau and Pierre M. Perrolle, "Public Opinion and Our China Policy," published in Asian Affairs (New York), Vol. V, No. 3 (January-February 1978).

[7] Cf. Allen S. Whiting, "Taiwan: Trends and Prospects," a briefing packet prepared for and distributed by the China Council of the Asia Society (March, 1978).

[8] A synopsis of the Brown University poll was published in the Christian Science Monitor, January 19, 1978, p. 13. A full-length report is published in Asian Affairs, see n. 6 above.

[9] Kau and Perrolle, op. cit., n. 6 above.

[10] My paper in Asian Survey, n. 4 above.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ASIANS IN AMERICA AND ASIAN AMERICANS

Sponsored by the Asian American Assembly for Policy Research

New York City

May 12-13, 1978

Graduate Center, CUNY
33 West 42nd Street
New York City

PROGRAM AGENDA

co-sponsored by the Department of Asian Studies, The City College of New York; Asian American Mental Health Research Center, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle; Bridge: An Asian American Perspective; Chinatown Planning Council, Inc., New York City; Jewish Community Relations Council of New York, Inc.; National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. — Committee for East Asia and the Pacific; Asian Studies Publications Program, University of Maryland Law School.

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THE ASIAN AMERICAN ASSEMBLY FOR POLICY RESEARCH, NEW YORK CITY

Background

The Assembly is a research project organized under the Departmentof Asian Studies, The City College of New York. Chairman of the Assembly serves as the principal investigator of the project. The project is under the jurisdiction of the City College of New York.

The foundation of the Assembly was begun in 1972 when the City College received the first $25,000 grant from the Field Foundation of New York to help the Department of Asian Studies in developing a "viable City College-run community service program for Chinatown." One year later, President Robert E. Marshak provided an additional $6000 from the City College Fund to expand the college-run community service program. In 1976, Department of Asian Studies received a second $25,000 grant from the Field Foundation to continue community related projects, including the establishment of the Asian American Assembly for Policy Research. In Spring, 1977, $20,000 in contributions to the Assembly from the City College Fund established the first national conference on Chinese in America on April 30, 1977. In March, 1978, the Assembly received an additional $20,000 for a second national conference on Asians in America from the Henry Luce Foundation, Inc.

Goals

The goals of the Asian American Assembly are threefold: First, the identification and recommendation for solutions to the major problems confronting Asian Americans. Second, research and publications by national panels appointed by the Assembly to generate a permanent body of information that may be useful as resource materials. Finally, the Assembly should provide a forum of scholars, community leaders and business executives on a regular basis — persons who can bring together both theoretical discipline and practical experience in the Asian American community.

National Advisory Council, 1977-1978

At the invitation of the Assembly Chairman, more than 100 distinguished Americans have agreed to serve on the National Advisory Council for two years, 1977-1978. The Advisory Council shall meet once a year to approve topics and agenda for the Assembly and provide advisement in the operation of Assembly matters.

Officers

Assembly Chairman: Professor Winberg Chai, Ph.D.

Chairman of the National Advisory Council: Mr. Henry Luce, III
co-Chairman of the National Advisory Council: Judge William M. Marutani
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    Prof. Jang H. Koo, Fairbanks, Alaska
    Prof. William T. Liu, Chicago

Conference Commissions: Affirmative Action (Dr. Priscilla Ching-Chung, Hawaii, Judge William M. Marutani); Community Relations (Mrs. Josephine M. Hong; Mr. Malcolm Hoenlein); Education (Prof. Ruth Grossman, Dr. Anna Chennault); Employment (Prof. Betty Lee Sung, Prof. Yuan-li Wu); Foreign Languages (Prof. John H. Koo, Prof. Nancy Duke Lay); Foreign Relations (Prof. James C. Hsiung, Prof. Ying-mao Kau); Immigration (Prof. Hungdah Chiu); Social Services (Allen B. Cohen); Research (Prof. Diana Kao, Prof. T. K. Tong and Prof. Baidya N. Varma).

Conference Coordinators: Mrs. Carolyn Chai & Prof. K. W. Liu

Staff: Mrs. E. Eltz and Mr. Nathan Bergerbest.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

REGISTRATION:

Auditorium Lobby, Graduate Center, CUNY, entrance in the Mall, 33 West 42nd Street, NYC
Friday, May 12, 1978: 1:00 p.m. to 2:00 p.m.
Saturday, May 13, 1978: 9:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.
Coffee will be provided during Saturday registration.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

Auditorium, Graduate Center

Saturday, May 13, 1978: 10:00 to 12:30 noon
INTRODUCTION: Prof. Winberg Chai, Chairman, CCNY
WELCOME: Mr. Henry Luce, III, Chairman, National Advisory Council; Vice President, Time, Inc.
GREETINGS: Hon. Edward I. Koch, Mayor of New York City
Hon. Andrew Stein, Borough Pres., Manhattan
[redacted]
Hon. Mariam Friedlander, Member N.Y.C. Council
KEYNOTE: Hon. Harry W. Low, Judge, Superior Court of California, San Francisco

LUNCHEON:

12:30 to 2:00 p.m.

Dining Commons, 18th Floor

PANEL WORKSHOPS

1. Foreign Policy Issues, Friday, May 12, 1978, 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m., Room: Studio, Third Floor
2. Immigration Policy Issues; Friday, May 12, 1978, 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m., Room, 1629 (16th floor)
3. Asian American Identity; Saturday, May 13, 1978, 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m., Room, 207 (2nd floor)
4. Education Policy Issues, Saturday, May 13, 1978; 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m., Room 1437 (14th floor)
5. Employment Policies Issues, Saturday, May 13, 1978; 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m., Room 1715 (17th floor)
6. The Indo-Chinese Issues; Saturday, May 13, 1978; 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m., Room 1514 (15th floor)
7. Teaching English, Saturday, May 13, 1978; 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m., Room 1625 (16h floor)
8. Racism and Affirmative Action, Saturday, May 13, 1978, 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m., Room 1710 (17th floor) or Auditorium
9. Community/Research: Saturday, May 13, 1978, 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m., Room 209 (2nd floor)

PROGRAM: FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1978 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

PANEL ONE:

COMPETING ISSUES AND PRIORITIES ON THE U.S. FOREIGN POLICY CALENDAR

Room: Studio, Third Floor

Chair:

Prof. James C. Hsiung, New York University

Panelists:

Mr. Arthur Day, Vice President for Policy Studies, United Nations Association of the U.S.A.:
"The Middle East on U.S. Foreign Policy Calendar"

Dr. Margaret Daly Hayes, Professor, Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies:
"The Panama Canal Treaty: Lessons from the Tug of War between Congress and the Administration"

Dr. James C. Hsiung, Professor, New York University:
"Normalization with China and the Politics of Taiwan's Future"

Dr. Ilpyong Kim, Professor, University of Connecticut
"Korean Troop Pull-out: Why we are half "in" and half "out"

Discussants:

Dr. Michael Armacost, Senior Staff, National Security Council, The White House (tentative)

Dr. Martin Berkowitz, Professor, Brooklyn College, CUNY

Dr. Ying-mao Kau, Professor, Brown University

PANEL TWO:

ASIAN IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR STATUS IN THE UNITED STATES

Room: 1629

Chair:

Professor Hungdah Chiu, University of Maryland Law School
Mr. Malcolm Hoenlein, Jewish Community Relations Council of New York, Inc.

Panelists:

Mr. Benjamin Gim, Lecturer, Columbia University Law School

"Review of U.S. Immigration and Nationality Law and Procedure: their inequities and the need for change"

Mr. David Simon, Associate, Bregman, Abell, Solter & Kay, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Stephen Chang, Attorney at Law, Washington, D.C.:

"Recent Judicial Cases Concerning Asian Immigrants and their status in the United States"

International Rescue Committee, Inc.:

"Report of a Citizens' Commission on Indo-Chinese Refugee"

Discussants:

Prof. Austin Fragomen, New York University School of Law
Staff, Office of Humanitarian Affairs, U.S. Department of State
Prof. Edwin P. Reubens, CCNY

Reporter:

Dr. Peter Ku, Director of Learning Resoures Center, Howard Community College, Columbia, Maryland

Evening
6:00 p.m. — 10:00 p.m.
National Advisory Council Dinner Meeting (for members only)

Awards:

U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa
President Robert E. Marshak
Judge William M. Marutani
Judge Harry W. Low

Speaker:

Senator S.I. Hayakawa

PANEL THREE:

IDENTITY AND PARTICIPATION IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

Room 207

Chair:

Rev. Dr. Franklin J. Woo, China Program Director, National Council of Churches

Panelists:

Rev. Ty Shin, Director, Korean Community Center, New York

"The Phenomenon of Asian Immigrants: Some Problems"

Mrs. Elizabeth Lee Abbott, Church History Researcher and Social Work Consultant, Northampton, Mass.

"Liberation of the Past; Liberation by the Past"

Rev. Philip Kyung Sik Park, Associate, Asian Mission Development Program, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

"A New American Ideal: Unity through Pluralism"

Rev. Dr. Franklin Wo, National Council of Churches

"Asian-American Identity from a Pluralistic Perspective"

Discussants:

to be announced

PANEL FOUR:

EDUCATION FOR ASIAN AMERICANS

Room 1437

Chair:

Prof. Ruth Grossman, The City College of New York
Dr. Anna Chennault, President, TAC International, Inc. Washington, D.C.

Panelists:

Prof. Harry H.L. Kitano, University of California at Los Angeles

"Asian American Studies in Higher Education"

Ms. Annie Wong, Guidance Counselor at Seward Park High School, New York City

"Asian American Studies in Secondary Schools"

Mr. David Fong, Principal of Public School No. 2, New York City

"Asian American Studies in Elementary Schools"

Discussants:

Dr. Carl P. Epstein, U.S. Office of Education
Prof. Chin-ha Suk, York College of Pennsylvania
Prof. Richard Yang, Washington University
Dr. Anna Chennault, Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Corinne K. Hoexter, Asian Society, Inc.

PANEL FIVE:

EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT
Room: 1715 or Auditorium

Chair:

Prof. Betty Lee Sung, The City College of New York
Prof. Yuan-li Wu, University of San Francisco

Panelists:

Dr. Manoranja Dutta, Professor, Rutgers University
"Status of Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment of the Asian Americans"

Dr. Anthony Kahng, Professor, New Jersey Institute of Technology
"Anatomy of Employment Discrimination: Case Studies"

Dr. Lucian Gatewood, U.S. Department of Labor
"Department of Labor's Responses of Employment Problems of Asian Americans"

Discussants:

Mrs. Betty Lim Guimares, State Commissioner for Fair Employment Practices, San Francisco
Mr. Tino Calabia, U.S. Civil Rights Commission
Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Professor, Columbia University *(tentative)*

PANEL SIX:

THE INDO-CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES **Room, 1514 (15th floor)**

Chair:

Prof. William T. Liu, University of Illinois, Chicago

Panelists:

Dr. Tran Minh Tung, formerly Minister of Health, Vietnam

Dr. Chou T. M. Le, formerly Rector of the University of Hue, Assistant Vice President for Advanced Studies, University of Notre Dame

Dr. Elena Yu, Co-Investigator, Vietnamese Refugee Study Project, AAMHRC and San Diego State University

Discussants:

Mr. Tom Carter, Staff, U.S. Senate
Prof. King Chen, Rutgers Univ.
Prof. Chao-min Hsieh, Univ. of Pittsburgh

PANEL SEVEN:

TEACHING ENGLISH TO ASIAN IMMIGRANTS **Room: 1625 (16th floor)**

Chair:

Prof. John H. Koo, University of Alaska, Fairbanks

Panelists:

Dr. Dan Hendriksen, Professor, Western Michigan University
"Shifting Questions, Partial Answers, and the Teaching of English to Asians"

Dr. Nancy Lay, Assistant Professor, The City College of New York
"Chinese Thought and Chinese Language: Effects on Students' Writings"

Dr. Seiichi Nakada, Professor, Princeton University
"Recent Developments in Lingusitic Theory and Implications for Second Language Teaching"

Dr. Ho-Min Sohn, Professor, University of Hawaii
"Syntactic and Semantic Interferences for Korean Adult Education Learners"

Dr. Robert St. Clair, Professor, University of Louisville
"Defining Cross-Cultural Situations: A Sociolinguistics Approach"

Discussant:

Dr. Chin-wu Kim, Professor, University of Illinois
Dr. John Young, Professor, Seton Hall University *(tentative)*

PANEL EIGHT:

RACISM AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION
Room: 1710 (17th floor) or Auditorium

Chair:

Dr. Priscilla Ching-Chung, University of Hawaii
Judge William M. Marutani, Philadelphia

Panelists:

Dr. Herbert Horikawa, Professor, Temple University
"Psychological Impact of Racism"

Dr. Roger K. Oden, Professor, Governor State University
"Racism and Employment"

Mr. Joji Konoshima, Democratic National Committee, Washington, D.C.
"Affirmative Action and Federal Employment"

Dr. Frederick T. C. Yu, Associate Dean, Columbia School of Journalism
"Affirmative Action and the Media" (tentative)

Discussants:

Dr. C. T. Wu, New York City Commissioner of Human Rights *(tentative)*

Prof. David Cheng, Associate Dean, Graduate Studies, School of Engineering, The City College of New York *(tentative)*

Dr. Chun-tu Hsueh, Prof., Univ. of Maryland

PANEL NINE:

PANEL TEN *(In one panel)*

RESEARCH IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATIONAL PROJECTS
Room: 209 (2nd floor)

Chair:

Prof. Winberg Chai, The City College of New York
Mr. Allen B. Cohen, Executive Director, Chinatown Planning Council, Inc.
Prof. T. K. Tong, The City College of New York

Panelists:

Dr. Parmatma Saran, Assistant Professor, Baruch College
"Indian Immigrants: Challenges and Strategies"

Dr. Chia-ling Kuo, Research Director, Chinatown Planning Council, Inc.
"Research in Community Development" tentative

Mr. Allen B. Cohen, Chinatown Planning Council, Inc.
(CPC: A Model Community Project" (tentative)

Discussants:

Mr. Augustine Chua, Immigrant Social Service, Inc.
Dr. Diana Kao, Associate Professor, The City College of New York
Dr. B. N. Varma, Professor, The City College of New York
Mr. Charles Pei Wang, Chinatown Planning Council

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